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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REIGN OF GEORGE III.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

A VIEW OF THE PROGRESSIVE IMPROVEMENT OF ENGLAND,
IN PROSPERITY AND STRENGTH,
TO
THE ACCESSION OF HIS MAJESTY.

By ROBERT BISSET, LL.D.
AUTHOR OF THE LIFE OF BURKE, &c. &c.

The Second Edition,
COMPLETED TO THE DEATH OF THE KING.
IN SIX VOLUMES.
VOL. I.

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PREFACE

TO

THE FIRST EDITION.

TO enlarge on the magnitude of the subject on which I have adventured to write, would be unnecessary, and might be unwise. Every reader must know, that the æra is eventful and interesting: an expatiation, therefore, on the greatness and importance of the theme, would only manifest the imprudence of the choice, should the execution prove inadequate. I am *fully aware, that many* votaries of historical literature deem it more difficult to write a history of present times, than of remote transactions: experience, however, does not confirm the opinion, as some of the most authentic and impartial works have recorded events which passed during the lives of the authors. Citation of instances would be superfluous, both to classical and modern readers. The writer who is competent to the task of composing a history, may execute the work on a cotemporary subject, as easily as on any other. The peculiar difficulty belonging to a performance of this kind, is to avoid prejudice and partiality; yet it is no more impracticable for an historian to deliver the truth respecting living characters, than for a witness to deliver faithful testimony according to the best of his knowledge. An ardent partizan of any of the great political leaders, might find it impossible to render impartial justice in a narrative which includes their conduct; but a writer that is totally unconnected

with the parties, has no motive to distort truth for the sake of either the one or the other. I conceive, therefore, that no valid objection can lie against the choice of the theme, except such as may refer to the competence of the Author. On this subject it would ill become me to speak; in a few words, however, I shall mention the reasons which determined me to engage in the present undertaking, hoping they may serve as an apology to those who may think that I have made an essay beyond my strength. Having devoted the chief part of my literary attention to biographical and historical studies, I conceived an idea many years ago of writing a history, choosing for my subject the transactions and events, with which I was chiefly conversant, and by which I was most deeply interested and impressed. Britain, from the revolution to the present time, appeared to me to afford a scope for narration and reflection, equal to any that had hitherto been treated in history; and I cherished a hope of being able, some time or other, to complete a narrative of that period.

Commencing literary adventure with more moderate pursuits, progressive encouragement emboldened me to attempt the Life of Burke. The subject naturally called my attention to more recent transactions and events than those which I had originally proposed *first* to narrate; and with proud pleasure I contemplated the efforts of my country, displaying in arduous struggles the exhaustless abundance of British resources, and the invincible force of the British character; still more strikingly manifested in the times in which I live, than even those which had immediately or shortly preceded.

The reception which that work met from the Public, and from all the Reviewers at the time, of whatever party or political sentiments, inspired me with hopes that I might be enabled to execute a work not uninteresting or unimportant to others,

on

on a subject the examination of which was so pleasing and instructive to myself. Other gentlemen, I was aware, had handled the same period; but, without discussing the literary merits of either Messrs. Macfarlane or Belsham, I readily saw, and knew the world believed, that both these gentlemen were rather repeaters of party notions and reports, than original composers of authentic and impartial history; the ground, therefore, did not appear to me to be pre-occupied.

For materials, besides examining all the periodical and occasional narratives of the times, I carefully investigated state-papers, and many other written documents, with which I had been liberally furnished by private communication. For political, commercial, naval, and military information, I applied to men who were most conversant in these subjects, and fortunately never applied in vain. By conversation with intelligent and experienced gentlemen both in the land and sea service, I acquired as much knowledge of their respective professions, as enabled me to comprehend the general tactics and discipline, their progressive improvements, and actual state; and thus, in every particular action, to trace the cause and operation whence the event resulted. The financial history and situation of the country, I studied in the most approved works; and in official documents, for access to which I am indebted to the private friendship of a member of the legislature. Where my subject required legal investigation, in addition to reading, I had recourse to eminent counsellors; and to a gentleman, who is now about to leave a country adorned by his genius and erudition, I am peculiarly indebted for many of the ideas that will be found in the parting view of lord Mansfield. In short, on every topic that required either narrative or discussion, I have consulted the most authentic evidence, and the best approved judges.

In

In the disposition of my materials, I have adopted the following plan. Previous to the commencement of the History, there is an Introduction, which traces the progressive improvement of England, in internal prosperity and strength, as well as in estimation and importance among foreign Powers, from the earliest times to the beginning of the war 1756. A preliminary chapter contains the causes and outline of hostilities, with the internal transactions and state of the country during the last years of the late king; in order that the reader, having before him at the accession of his present majesty, the outset of national affairs, foreign and domestic, may more easily perceive progression and result. Both in the Introduction and History, it has been my endeavour to place in a just and striking light the force of the British character, formed and invigorated by the British constitution; and to demonstrate that Britain, either in peace or in war, prospers and conquers, because she excels in wisdom and virtue. This is the moral lesson which my narrative attempts to inculcate; and if I do not succeed, the deficiency is in myself, and not in my subject. It is possible that my narrative may be charged with national partiality: I confess I love my country, and hate her enemies; and if this be a crime I must plead guilty. I trust, however, that notwithstanding my warm affection for Britain, and my admiration of her stupendous efforts, I shall be found, even in reciting the contests with her foes, to have rigidly adhered to historical truth, and done justice to the exertions of her enemies; who, in disciplined valour, genius, and power, far surpassed any foes that were ever opposed to the heroes of ancient Greece or Rome.

In the division of this History I have endeavoured to end each volume at some important epoch. — The first, closes with the termination of his majesty's first parliament in 1768, and brings Irish affairs to the

the same period. — The second, carries the American war to the capture of Burgoyne. — The third, contains the efforts of Britain under the pressure of difficulty, and her arduous struggles against the combined force of her revolted colonies, and her ancient friends joined with her ancient enemies in Europe; traces her through her dangers to the peace, and ends with the dissolution of that parliament in which a majority of the commons attempted to dictate to the king in the choice of a minister. — The fourth, commences the efficient administration of Mr. Pitt, and follows the history of peace and prosperity to the eve of an event which was destined to fill the world with wars unprecedented in the annals of nations. — The fifth, commences with the French revolution, and finishes at 1794, when the character of the French nation was manifested in the junction of the highest national energy with the most deplorable national crime. — The sixth, conducts the narrative to its close, in the termination of the late war.

It was my intention to have extended the work to the Peace of Amiens; but the recent rupture, with the official exposition of its causes, having shewn that one of the parties regarded it merely as a temporary truce, the cessation of hostilities appeared to me to form a more proper epoch, than the conclusion of a treaty, which the conduct of our enemy has proved to have been regarded by him as no treaty.

Such are the object, plan and distribution of this present History; and if its execution be received with equal favour as my former labours, it will answer the most sanguine expectations of the Author.

Sloane-terrace,
June 17th, 1803.

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INTRODUCTION.

Progressive Improvement of England — in Internal Prosperity and Strength — in Estimation and Importance among Foreign Powers.

ANCIENT writers agree, in supposing that the first inhabitants of Britain migrated from the continent. This opinion is founded on their language, manners, institutions, religion, and complexion; in which they closely resembled the neighbouring Celts. Their governments, though monarchical, were free; they were under the guidance of druidical superstition; their only records were the songs of their bards. They were divided into a number of petty states, inspired with mutual jealousy, and respectively agitated by internal dissensions: but though similar to the continental Gauls in civil and religious establishments, and in general character, yet being farther removed from the centre of civilization, they were still more barbarous in their manners. Their possessions and their wants were equally limited; they were ignorant of the refinements of life. Subsisting by the chace, by pasturage, and imperfect agriculture; clothed with the skins of beasts which their fields and forests supplied, and dwelling in huts raised in their woods and marshes, they neither sought nor knew the pleasures of foreign luxury. In this

First inhabitants of Britain.

 un-

uncultivated state, they discovered that masculine boldness and strength of character, by which their successors have been distinguished in all the stages of progressive improvement. Ready and willing to contribute whatever efforts their country might require, they spurned at compulsion. The commons retained a greater degree of power than among their Gallic kinsmen. Like all European barbarians warlike and ferocious, they exercised their prowess in insular contentions, without attempting to interfere in the affairs of the continent. Their military force consisted in their infantry, which wanted only discipline and skill to have opposed with effect even the Roman legions. Intestine divisions facilitated the progress of the enemy's armies under the conduct and wisdom of Agricola. Chased from the verdant and fertile fields of southern Britain, liberty sought, found, and preserved an asylum in the bleak and barren fastnesses of Caledonia. The victor, in conformity to the Roman system, having subjugated the defenders of their country, from mildness of disposition and soundness of policy endeavoured to render the chains which he had imposed easy and agreeable. He taught them the Roman language and manners, instructed them in letters and science, and inspired them with a relish for the accommodations and luxuries of polished life. That both the new acquisition, and the legions which defended it, might be secure from the northern incursions of the unconquered mountaineers, he formed a line of posts along the Scottish isthmus. Defended by these and subsequent fortifications, protected by the conqueror's forces, acquiescing willingly in the dominion of their masters, more effectually and durably subdued by their arts than their arms, the once bold, hardy, and independent Britons became the timid, effeminate, and servile subjects of the Roman empire. Detached from the continent, this

Effects of the Roman conquest.

this province enjoyed profound tranquillity, long after the irruptions of northern barbarians had pervaded the other parts of the empire. The skilful avarice of its conquerors discovered many of the advantages of Britain; the general fertility of its soil; the richness of its pastures; the abundance of its flocks, secure from wild beasts and venomous serpents; the value of its minerals; the number and conveniences of its harbours, equally adapted to commerce and defence. From her civilized subduers, Britain first learned the powers which she possessed, and which, inspired by liberty and enlightened by knowledge, she has since carried to so unparalleled an extent.

Romans evacuate Britain.

THE progress of northern invaders at length compelled the emperors of now enervated Rome, to recal their legions from distant frontiers, that they might defend the metropolis. Valuable as Britain was, they were necessitated to evacuate that island for ever. Debilitated by long peace, and dejected by long slavery, the southern Britons had now to encounter ferocious foes, against whom the strength of Roman fortifications, and the dread of Roman discipline, had hitherto afforded them sufficient protection. The Picts and Scots, who dwelt in the northern parts beyond the wall of Antoninus, made incursions upon their peaceable and effeminate neighbours; and beside the temporary depredations which they committed, these combined nations threatened the whole province with subjection, or, what the inhabitants more dreaded, with universal plunder and devastation.[a] Unable to defend themselves, the Britons applied for assistance to their late masters. A single legion sent to their succour, freed the country from its desultory invaders; and having effected its deliverance, again returned to the continent. The Britons were once

Picts and Scots.

[a] See Hume, vol. i. p. 12.

more exposed to the inroads of their impetuous neighbours. Still too little inured to war, to recover the valour of their ancestors, they again sought security from foreign protectors.

Saxons. STRETCHED along the coasts of northern Germany, and opposite to Britain, were the Saxons, one of the fiercest and most warlike tribes of their nation. Hardy and intrepid in every kind of warfare, from their maritime situation they were peculiarly addicted to nautical expeditions. Originally fishermen, they had become pirates; they possessed arms and ships, the art of navigation, and the habit of naval war. Invading and despoiling the neighbouring coasts, they had gradually extended their depredations from the German Ocean to the British Channel and the Bay of Biscay. The Romans had been frequently successful in repelling these piratical efforts[b], but they could not prevent them from being renewed with increased force. The dissolution of the Roman power encouraged the Saxons to repeat their incursions into southern Europe; they were a terror to other nations.

SUCH was the people to whom the Britons applied for aid. Hengist and Horsa, the most celebrated warriors of the time, easily persuaded their countrymen to engage in an enterprise which appeared to them to promise a favourable opportunity of displaying valour, and acquiring plunder. Preparing a considerable force, they landed in the Isle of Thanet, and immediately marched to defend the Britons from the Picts and Scots. They were speedily successful against the ravagers of southern Britain. Rescued from their enemies, the Britons now expected to enjoy tranquillity, under the protection of their warlike allies. They soon found, however, that a state cannot long enjoy independence and security, that trusts to any efforts but its

[b] Gibbon, vol. iv. p. 29.

own.

own. The Saxons seeing in the facility with which they overthrew the Picts and Scots, how easily a people could be conquered that were unable to resist such feeble invaders, soon formed the project of subjugating the Britons themselves. They were allured by the fertility, verdure, and riches of the country; and inflamed with the desire of exchanging for it the barren, bleak, and indigent regions of uncultivated Germany. Of these advantages they informed their countrymen, and soon received reinforcements which enabled them easily to subdue that part of the country which they had first known and attempted. The ready establishment that the Saxons acquired in Kent under Hengist and Horsa, invited other hordes to invade different parts of the island. The Britons by degrees recovered that valour[c] which their ancestors had exerted against the conquerors of the world: the contest became arduous and bloody: many deeds of heroism were performed by the defenders of their liberties, as well as by ambitious aggressors. The fame of prince Arthur, though the theme of chivalrous mythology[d] and poetic fiction, is allowed by our historians to have its foundation in truth.[e] In the darkness of barbarity, as well as in the light of civilization, Britain wanted not leaders and soldiers to combat the assailants of her independence. The natives, however, were yearly decreasing in numbers, while the losses of the Saxons were supplied by recruits from the continent. After an hundred and fifty years the Germans fully established themselves, by exterminating the ancient possessors. The Saxons, in forming their heptarchy, having extirpated the Britons, introduced into this island the manners and institutions of their native land,

[c] Gibbon places the courage and perseverance with which the Britons resisted the Saxons, in a more striking light than any other historian. See History, vol. vi. p. 385 to 393. [d] See Don Quixote. [e] Hume, vol. i. p. 24. and Gibbon, vol. vi. p. 390. with their respective authorities.

and effected a revolution more complete than that which conquest has usually produced.[f] The elegance and refinement which had begun to spread through Britain while a Roman province, were now totally overwhelmed by barbarity.

Character of the Saxons.

But, uncouth as their manners were, the Saxons possessed vigorous understandings, undaunted courage, supported by great bodily strength, and inspirited by an ardent love of liberty. Their several systems of policy, formed upon the principles of their ancestors, as consecrated to immortality by the pen of Tacitus, uniting kings, chiefs, and commons, were the rude but strong foundation of that constitution, which their descendants, inheriting the force of their character, now enjoy and preserve. When they had settled themselves beyond all question and dispute as masters of southern Britain, the Saxons soon discontinued intercourse with their German countrymen, and maintained little connexion with any foreign country. Adhering to the superstition of their forefathers, they had broken one powerful tie, by which many of the Britons were attached to christian Europe. Having, in the products of their new possession, supplies for their wants, they rarely attempted to cultivate the knowledge of other countries for the sake of commercial benefits. From their insular situation, together with the state of their continental neighbours, who were chiefly occupied in disputes with adjoining principalities, or internal arrangements, they had no hostile interference with foreign countries; neither religion, traffic, nor jarring pretensions, engaged them in amity, nor involved them in war, with the nations of the continent.

Small connexion with the conti-

Since the invasion of Julius Cæsar, Britain was never so detached from external politics, as during

[f] Robertson's Charles V. vol. i. p. 197.

the

the first ages of the Saxon heptarchy. Religion restored the intercourse which had formerly subsisted between Britain and the continent. The conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to christianity, beside the important effects which it was calculated to produce upon the morals and dispositions of its new votaries, proved the means of opening a political connexion between this island and less barbarous regions. Coincidence of theological opinion gradually introduced communications upon other subjects: the kingdoms of the heptarchy began to interest themselves in the affairs of their southern neighbours, and to conceive that a naval force was the most effectual means of defence and security to islanders. Though the internal contests between the several princes had prevented this newly-discovered policy from being carried into extensive execution, yet one prince (Offa of Mercia) set the example; and, when France under Charlemagne had risen to a great pitch of power and opulence, encouraged commerce, and formed a navy, as the certain security of this country against the conquerors of the continent.[s] Offa perceived the advantage to be derived from foreign trade being carried on by his own subjects, and for that purpose concluded a commercial treaty with the French monarch.

nent, during the heptarchy.

Religion first opens a communication with southern Europe.

Saxons begin to understand the importance of naval force and of commerce.

When the heptarchy was consolidated under Egbert into the kingdom of England, circumstances became more auspicious to the commercial and political aggrandizement of the country. This revolution favoured internal trade, by putting a period to intestine wars, and rendering the communication between the several parts of England more secure and free; it was friendly to external commerce, by making the English monarchy a greater object to foreign merchants, and the Eng-

[s] Henry's History of Great Britain, vol. iv. p. 196.

lish monarchs of greater consideration in foreign countries. Still the Anglo-Saxons were defective in that nautical power, which their situation required, and its resources admitted.

Danes

DEPREDATIONS committed by a new enemy, who invaded the coasts, convinced the English of the necessity of equipping a maritime force. The Saxons, who had remained in Germany when their brethren established themselves in Britain, continued to maintain the character, and follow the pursuits of their ancestors, being distinguished for naval power, and becoming, from its exertion in piracy, formidable to all the southern coasts. As they still adhered to the pagan superstition, Charlemagne undertook their conversion by means more agreeable to the violent bigotry of the benighted ages, than to the generosity, magnanimity, and wisdom of his own character. In the progress of his conquests having subdued northern Germany, by the most rigorous edicts against paganism he endeavoured to establish christianity, and severely punish the transgressors of his decrees, in many instances decimating the refractory.[h] Some of these pagans complied with the imperious mandates of the conqueror; while others, more intrepid and independent, refused to yield to injunctions so cruelly enforced, and, to avoid the fury of the persecution, retired into the adjoining peninsula of Jutland. Meeting there with inhabitants of similar manners, institutions, and religious faith, they easily coalesced with the ancient possessors, and having assumed a common appellation, the Saxons and Jutlanders, under the name of Danes, about the end of the eighth century, commenced a very extensive system of maritime invasion; in the course of which they were induced to visit England, at that time unprotected

invade England.

[h] Hume, vol. i. p. 67.

by

by an adequate naval force. In their inroads they shewed that, though barbarians, they were not destitute of judgment or prudence. Learning that the natives were as valiant soldiers as themselves, they trusted chiefly to their skill and activity as sailors; and having previously explored the state of the coasts, they landed in the most defenceless and fertile parts; which having pillaged before an English force could assemble, they retired to their ships; and soon after descended, in a similar manner, and with similar success, on other parts of the coast. These enterprises harassed the vigorous reign of Egbert, who had not acquired the only force by which they could have been effectually repressed. Elated with their success, and farther encouraged by the feebleness and inaction of the superstitious Ethelwolf, they enlarged their schemes, and formed the project of subduing the whole of that country, with the devastation of whose coasts they had hitherto been contented. During the reign of this weak prince and his elder sons, the Danes made rapid strides to the attainment of their object; when the genius and wisdom of his youngest son, Alfred, not only extricated his country from present danger, but established the most effectual means of future security and aggrandizement to the kingdom.

Alfred discerns that the security and aggrandizement of England must arise from her navy.

HAVING restored his country from a state of humiliation and subjection, to honour, independence, and glory, the illustrious Alfred turned his philosophic mind to a comprehensive survey of its situation and circumstances, and its relation to foreign powers. He saw that the safety and greatness of England must chiefly depend upon maritime effort. To promote trade, and to establish a navy, after the expulsion of the Danes, was a principal object of his renowned administration. For the attainment of these purposes, as well as to gratify the inquisitive spirit incident to genius, he

he cultivated an intercourse with foreign and even remote countries. His agents not only explored the shores of the Baltic and the White Sea, but investigated the state of Asia, from the Mediterranean to the Persian and Arabian Gulf. He introduced new manufactures, which furnished many articles for exportation, as well as for consumption within the kingdom. By his inventive talents, he made great improvements in the art of ship-building. The vessels constructed under his direction, were much superior to any that were known in the northern or western seas, in the three important qualities of celerity, force, and facility of management.[1] As the founder of English jurisprudence, and the establisher of internal security and tranquillity, Alfred is not more deservedly celebrated, than as the founder of English navigation and commerce, and the establisher of external security and greatness. This extraordinary prince so clearly demonstrated and vigorously pursued the real interests of his country, that other Anglo-Saxon kings, according to their adoption or neglect of the policy of Alfred, succeeded in resisting the efforts of foreign aggressors. The abilities and vigour of the English sovereigns for several generations maintained a powerful navy, which prevented the northern plunderers from seriously infesting a country so strongly secured, and impelled them to seek pillage and settlement among our continental neighbours.

Alfred founder of English jurisprudence, navigation, and commerce.

The weakness of Ethelred in the neglect and mismanagement of naval affairs, manifested in its effects the wisdom of Alfred, as clearly as it was shewn in the able measures of his immediate successors; for when the system of defence, which Alfred by his precept and example inculcated, was either abandoned or feebly executed, the evils

[1] Henry, vol. iv. p. 221.

recurred, which he had so vigorously repelled and afterwards prevented. But, though the invasions of the Danes impressed the English with a high idea of the importance of commerce, it was rather with the view of affording the means of defence, than of being productive of prosperity and civilization. Export traffic, so much interrupted by northern cruizers, did not, in the time of the Saxons, rise to that magnitude which Alfred had proposed and expected. The total subjection of England to the Danes was salutary to the commerce of the kingdom, by putting an end to those bloody wars between the two nations, which had raged about forty years with little intermission. Canute the Great, a wise as well as a warlike prince, endeavoured to gain the affections of his English subjects, by affording them the most effectual protection, and every encouragement in his power. He employed the influence which his high reputation, extensive dominions, and mighty force had obtained, among foreign princes, to procure favours and privileges from them to his trading subjects. From his time, during the reign of his sons, and after the restoration of the Saxon line, the navigation and commerce of England continued comparatively flourishing till the conquest. The Danes, having betaken themselves to cultivate the arts of peace, no longer disturbed their neighbours by piracy. By the contest with the northern navigators, the Anglo-Saxons were losers in the interruption of agriculture and of internal improvement, but gainers in acquiring naval power, commercial ideas, and promoting an intercourse with the continent. From the accession of Canute, when the internal disadvantages ceased to be felt, and the external advantages increased, the benefit which they now derived, exceeded the loss that they had formerly incurred. Though England, from religion, had hitherto some intercourse

Contest with the maritime depredators beneficial to England.

intercourse with southern Europe, her chief political connexion was with the north. She had very little acquaintance with her adjacent neighbours the French. The conquest of the kingdom by William of Normandy, made a most important change, both in her internal state, and in her relation to the continent.

Norman conquest.

COMPLICATED as the feudal system was in its nature, and extensive in its subjects, it was extremely simple in its principle, and confined in its original objects: it was a policy which, overlooking every other consideration, narrowed its provision to national defence[k]; and was merely a reciprocal guarantee of acquisitions proceeding from conquest. The leaders and officers among the northern subduers of middle and southern Europe, in their respective tribes and divisions, entered into agreements to prevent themselves from being dispossessed of their lands by other invaders. The insulated state of the Anglo-Saxons rendering them less exposed to ambitious depredators than their continental neighbours, the feudal system had not been established in England. The people had retained more of the ancient German liberty than on the continent, where an enslaving aristocracy was generally prevalent. Hence was preserved that spirit of freedom which the most aspiring monarchs could never thoroughly subdue, and which has rendered this comparatively small territory, this "little body with a mighty heart!" the admiration and terror of most extensive and powerful empires. The manners of the Saxons, though rude and unpolished, were frank, manly, and independent; totally void of that servility and submissiveness which characterise the subjects of either monarchical or aristocratical slavery: they were barbarians, it is true, but bold and generous.

Affecting the constitution, laws, and manners of England.

[k] Robertson's Charles V. vol. i. p. 13.

The

The conquest of the kingdom by the Normans effected a considerable change; though by no means, like that by the Saxons, a complete revolution in laws and manners. William attempted to model his new dominions according to the feudal system, with partial, but imperfect success. The Saxon spirit of liberty continuing, extended to the Normans, with whom, in a few ages, the former inhabitants became entirely intermixed; and obtained, from the prudence of wise[l], or extorted from the fears of weak[m], princes, the revival, and even the improvement, of the Anglo-Saxon constitution. Still, however, the Norman laws and establishments subsisted in a considerable degree, and long continued to affect the condition and manners of the people.[n]

Intercourse with continental Europe.

THE changes produced by the Norman conquest were still greater at the beginning, and eventually more permanent in other respects, than in our laws and establishments. Hence is to be dated the commencement of our intercourse with middle and southern Europe, and especially with France; which has formed so important a branch of our political history. From that growing intercourse with continental Europe, proceeded also, in the progress of time, the beginning of our commercial efforts, and the revival and extension of our naval force. From the possession of Normandy by the English princes, proceeded those wars which so long raged between France and England to their mutual detriment. The Crusades at certain times, by giving them identity of object, produced alliance; but this was soon after followed by hostilities. The weakness and wickedness of John

Origin of wars between England and France.

[l] Henry I. and Henry II. and Blackstone, vol. iv. c. 33.

[m] John, and Henry III. See Hume, vol. ii.

[n] Blackstone, vol. iv. c. 33. on the Rise, Progress, and Completion of the British Constitution.

abroad

abroad as well as at home, produced most beneficial effects to his country. The murder of prince Arthur excited a war, which, terminating in the conquest of the English dominions in France, extirpated the principal cause of dissension; while the weakness of Henry III., and the wisdom and goodness of Louis IX., maintained a long peace between the respective kingdoms.

Civil and political objects of Edward I.

THE lofty genius, comprehensive wisdom, and intrepid spirit of the first Edward, were chiefly occupied with two grand objects; the establishment of a perfect system of jurisprudence in England, and the consolidation of Great Britain into one kingdom. Engaged so deeply within the island, he was involved in no lasting or important hostilities with the continent. In the unfortunate reign of Edward II., the feebleness of the son in Britain, undid a great part of what the abilities of the father had effected; and with the continent he had established no material connexion. The ambition mingled with the extraordinary qualities of his celebrated son found a new ground of contest with France, which caused great disasters to both kingdoms. Unwise as the policy was which prompted Edward III. to seek the sovereignty of a kingdom in opposition to its established laws, and contrary to the interests of his own country, his measures for executing the undertaking were concerted with an ability worthy of his character. To make a powerful impression, he formed an extensive confederacy with continental states, and laid the foundation of a much wider intercourse with the Low Countries and Germany, than had ever existed before. The first important consequence resulting from Edward's alliance with the Netherlands was, that his attention was thereby directed to naval affairs. After the revival of commerce, first by the Italian States in the south,

and

and afterwards by the Hanseatic league in the north of Europe, centrical position, maritime situation, fertility of soil, and industry of people, being fostered under a government of less feudal aristocracy and more enlarged freedom than prevailed in France and Germany, rendered Flanders the medium of commercial communication between the coasts of the Mediterranean and the Baltic. It nearly monopolized that intermediate traffic, for its neighbours of France and Britain made no attempt to improve their respective opportunities for trade. English materials indeed were the principal subjects of Flemish skill; from the raw produce of the farms and pastures of England, Flanders derived the staple of her flax and woollen manufactures. An emporium of merchandize, she acquired wealth and force; and was particularly distinguished for naval power. Resorting to Flanders to promote the purposes of the military alliance, Edward was not slow in observing the political state of that country. His perspicacious mind discovered the cause to be, its commerce and manufactures. He endeavoured to excite among his own subjects, that spirit of industry, which he found so beneficial to its votaries; and to direct it to those objects in which he perceived its efforts to be most productive. He invited Flemish artisans to settle in his dominions, and commenced the woollen manufactures in his own kingdom. Knowing his people to have genius, enterprise, and perseverance, he first turned those qualities towards the arts which have raised England to be the foremost among commercial nations. As Edward I. formed and digested English jurisprudence, so admirably fitted for rendering to every man his right, and guarding his property; Edward III. laid the foundation of that skill, and those efforts, which have acquired to Englishmen so much property to secure. From his engage-

Edward III. in Flanders discovers the importance of manufactures and commerce.

Directs the genius of his English subjects to those objects.

ments

ments with Flanders originated naval victory*, which united with his commercial views to impress on his mind the importance of maritime power. The splendid atchievements at Cressy and Poictiers, so glorious to English valour, and to the courage and conduct of Edward and his renowned son, combining with the admired talents and character of both, gave to them and their country a weight in other European kingdoms, which England had never before possessed. The irritation of the contest produced a spirit of hostility, between the two first nations of the modern world. Frequent wars impeded the advances of both to an opulence and power suited to their respective genius and character. The reign of Edward III. may be considered in English history, as the great epoch of commencing manufactures and commerce in this nation; as the period when England began to have an extensive influence in the affairs of the continent; and when a spirit of regular and permanent hostility first broke out between England and France.

Raises England to influence in the affairs of Europe.

THOUGH the basis of British commerce and naval power was so ably and skilfully laid by Edward, yet general causes and particular events long retarded the superstructure. The martial spirit prevalent in England, when intermingled with the pride of feudal aristocracy, represented the manufacturer and merchant as despicable, in comparison to the soldier; and while the warlike character of the times depreciated in the public opinion the estimation in which those peaceful professions were held, and precluded from them the votaries of honour and fame, the violence and turbulence of those rude ages diminishing the security of property, often tended to obstruct the votaries of interest in their mercantile adventures. The

Causes that retarded the operation of Edward's policy.

* Off Sluise, June 1340.

character and circumstances of the succeeding sovereigns, and the contests about the throne, promoting for a century military energy, and not restraining turbulent violence and injustice, interrupted the natural progress of Edward's plans. Feudal aristocracy and character.

THE feebleness of a long minority, the frivolity and profligacy of Richard's personal character, the jarring interests of the princes of the blood, and their respective pretensions to that power which the incapacity of the sovereign was so little qualified to hold, prevented any advances from being made in great schemes of policy. When Richard's sceptre was wrested from his weak hands by the skill and force of a powerful usurper, there still continued in the kingdom grounds of feud and discord very unfavourable to national improvement. Richard II. Henry IV., provident, vigilant, and wise, comprehended the great importance of commerce, and promoted it to the utmost of his power. Henry IV. He formed a commercial treaty with the Hans-town merchants; and promoted the settlement of mercantile foreigners within his own kingdom. He devised and encouraged the formation of English factories in foreign parts; a proposition, which, as our knowledge of the globe enlarged, and our intercourse with remote countries extended, has in subsequent times been expanded into a grand and valuable system of colonization. He, like his grandfather, saw how necessary superiority at sea was to the security and prosperity of England, and made it one of his chief objects to maintain a formidable navy.[p] He encouraged artisans and mariners, and inculcated industry; but the various insurrections by which his reign was disturbed, though all successfully quelled by his courage and conduct,

[p] Henry's History, vol. x. p. 243.

interrupted the execution of his commercial schemes.

Henry V. THE extraordinary genius of Henry V., equally fitted for the field and the cabinet, directed its exertions chiefly to military superiority; but he was impressed with the importance of naval strength to England: he was as victorious at sea as at land; and in his reign the fleets of England rode triumphant in the channel. Eagerly intent, however, on conquering France, he could not bestow an adequate regard on the commercial advancement of his kingdom. After this great prince was prematurely cut off, the first years of his son's reign were employed in attempts to preserve and extend his father's conquests in France; but the succeeding part of his reign, replete with discomfiture abroad and discontent at home, lost the national superiority both by sea and land. The renowned earl of Warwick, indeed, recovered to England her maritime dominion; but the discords in which he soon took so active a part, and which terminated in such bloody and destructive civil wars, impeded industry, commerce, and all the peaceful arts, and involved England in grievous calamities. The duke of York, lineal heir to the crown, induced by the imbecility of the reigning prince, with probable grounds for expecting success, attempted to finish the usurpation which the talents and character of the two preceding monarchs appeared to have firmly established; and though he himself did not live to attain the wished-for dignity, yet, seconded and supported by the illustrious Warwick, he paved the way for the speedy accession of his son.

Attempted conquest of France.

Henry VI.

Wars of Lancaster and York interrupt the progressive advancement of England, internal and external.

Edward IV. EDWARD IV. to dissipation and profligacy joining great vigour of character whenever occasion required its efforts, exerting the maritime superiority of England with considerable success, invaded France

France with a powerful fleet. But the civil wars that recurred during the greater part of his reign, together with the indolence that marked his conduct when not stimulated by imperious and immediate necessity, prevented the promotion of commercial schemes in proportion to the resources of the country; of which the state at that time, exhausted by long wars and general devastation, was extremely unfavourable to the success of arts and of commerce. The short and cruel reign of Richard III. Richard III., principally occupied in endeavouring to remove the consequences of one crime by the commission of others, was too much engaged in massacre and proscription to afford him leisure and attention for supporting the internal prosperity or maritime force of his country. The recent discomfiture of the English in France, added to their own internal dissensions, occasioned great distress, depopulated the kingdom, retarded agriculture and manufactures, and increased the ferocity of manners; while the profligate character of the princes of the house of York, and the wickedness which they excited or directed, introduced flagrant depravity. Edward having obtained possession of the throne by military force, however well-founded his right, very frequently violated the constitution of his country, and tyrannized over the lives, liberty, and property of his subjects. His courtiers and favourites, imitating his example, carried cruelty and oppression against their adversaries to a still greater pitch than even Edward himself. The ancient nobility of England were almost entirely annihilated by the dreadful contests. Her own fatal dissensions, added to her recent discomfiture in France, had lessened the influence of England on the continent. During the greatest part of the fifteenth century, her progress in point of internal civilization and prosperity as well as of foreign influence, was little proportioned to her intrinsic

Civil wars reduce the feudal nobles.

powers. Still, however, if her advances were obstructed, they were not altogether impeded. Learning raised her head, though mingled with the superstition of the cloisters, in which she had been cherished and preserved from total extinction. Various colleges were founded and institutions promoted, which proved ultimately favourable to the advancement of knowledge. The cultivated taste of polished ages, or the enlarged moral and political science of enlightened philosophers, were not to be expected in a state of society clouded with darkness, and fettered with superstition; yet some of the seeds were now sown, which afterwards ripened into literature.

Efforts of reviving learning.

THE efforts of reviving learning, though not very judiciously directed, were by no means feeble. The metaphysical theology of the schools, originating in misapprehension concerning the most profound of philosophers [q], was not devoid of Grecian acuteness; and if its discoveries did not greatly expand the understanding, or its spirit liberalize the sentiments, yet its contentions, by sharpening and invigorating the faculties, paved the way for intellectual and moral improvement. Increased sagacity began to produce discussion of authority in matters of thought and reasoning: the bold doctrines of Wickliffe, though chiefly opposed by menace and persecution, still excited a few of the clergy to employ more rational arguments. Cotemporary or collateral heresies moved some ecclesiastics to prepare, by literary effort, for the defence of the existing superstition; while they disposed and formed others for attack. But erudition, narrowly as it was still diffused, was not entirely confined to the church. Humphry of Glocester was a prince of considerable learning [r];

[q] See in Dr. Gillies's Preface to his translation of Aristotle, his account of the difference between Aristotle's text and the comments of his professed interpreters.

[r] See Hume's History of England, vol. iii. p. 180.

Anthony

Anthony earl of Rivers and John earl of Worcester, in the reigns of Henry IV. and Edward, were eminent for literary knowledge.[a] Gallant and meritorious as were many of the nobles, who perished in the wars between Lancaster and York, their fall tended ultimately to the reduction of the feudal aristocracy, which, though never so entirely predominant in England as to stifle all remains of Saxon liberty, was yet so prevalent as greatly to encroach on the constitutional rights of a free people. Generally bloody as were the wars, the animosity of contending chieftains, and the resentment, rapacity, or jealous fears of the successive conquerors, rendered the proportion of grandees either killed in battle, or massacred by cruelty, much greater than that of the gentry, yeomanry, traders, and subordinate orders. The rising consequence of the great body of English commons, eventually saved their country from the absolute monarchy which overwhelmed the neighbouring nations.

Different institutions of England and of France.

SIMILAR, indeed, in calamitous circumstances at different though near periods of the fifteenth century, but dissimilar in the original institutions and in the ranks and orders of men which these generated, France and England were destined to experience very unlike systems of polity, at the time they both advanced in civilization and knowledge. When the French nobility, after being so much exhausted by internal dissensions and the wars with England, were farther impaired by the crafty, unfeeling, and oppressive policy of Louis XI.; there being no intermediate orders between them and the labouring people, who were actually slaves, all ranks were involved in one vortex of arbitrary dominion. France became a simple monarchy;

[a] Henry's History, vol. x. p. 147.

In England the middling class preserves liberty.

while England, by rearing and cherishing a middle class, which augmented in force as spreading industry and increasing knowledge enlarged the means of acquiring moderate independence, was improved into a free constitution, providing equally for the governing and governed, and proposing the general welfare as the only legitimate object of political establishments and national conduct.

Henry VII. improvements under him.

To the promotion of these beneficial purposes, no sovereign was more instrumental than Henry VII.: though his measures originated in the peculiar circumstances of his situation, rather than in liberal policy; yet, without allowing either wisdom or goodness the full credit of the beneficial effects produced, an impartial examiner of his actions, and their evident consequences, must see, that he promoted the prosperity and meliorated the condition of England. He, indeed, was the first who carried effectually into execution the great plans of improvement devised by the genius of his illustrious predecessor Edward III. Contracted in sentiment, covetous in disposition, and suspicious in temper, Henry did not always propose the most benevolent ends. Vigorous and penetrating in intellect, cautious in deliberation but decisive in conduct, he both devised and employed the most apposite means. Apprehending the adherents of the house of York to be inimical to his own doubtful title, if he did not create, he probably brought into action, discontents which might have lain dormant; but when dissatisfaction rose to revolt, he with firmness and prudence suppressed repeated rebellions. Experiencing or suspecting the principal enmity to subsist among the higher ranks, he was anxious to weaken the order of nobles: he permitted the barons to break the entails of their estates, and made laws to prevent them from retaining large bodies of clients, which rendered

He reduces the feudal aristocracy,

rendered them formidable and turbulent.[t] He encouraged agriculture and commerce, perhaps with a view (as our great historian conjectures) of gratifying his avarice by filling his coffers from imposts[u]; and he concluded several very useful commercial treaties, which, though somewhat narrow in their principles, were in their operation lucrative. He bestowed great attention on the promotion of navigation; as, before his time, foreign trade had been chiefly carried on in foreign bottoms, he endeavoured, with considerable success, to procure to English ships the carriage of our own exports and imports.

and encourages navigation and nautical discovery.

During this reign a spirit of maritime adventure for the purposes of discovery and commerce arose in several parts of Europe. The invention of the compass encouraged navigators to explore oceans before untried by Europeans. Venice and Genoa had hitherto monopolized the traffic of the Western world to India. Portugal, in the fifteenth century, was governed by a succession of courageous, able, and enterprising princes; who, perceiving the advantages accruing to the Italian republics from a trade with India, attempted to employ their maritime situation in profitable traffic. Nautical adventurers, directed by the princes of that country, proceeded gradually along the coast of Africa. At length, they extended their voyage to the southern promontory of that immense peninsula; to which, foreseeing it would open a passage to the East Indies, they gave the name of the Cape of Good Hope; and a few years after arriving on the Malabar coast, shewed to western Europe, that India was more easily accessible to its commercial adventurers, than to its eastern neighbours; and that oriental riches were no longer to be exclusively acquired by the coast-

[t] Robertson's Charles V. vol. i. p. 102.

[u] Hume, vol. iii. p. 422.

ing traders of the Mediterranean, but to be shared by the bold essayers of unknown oceans. But while Vasquez di Gama found out an accessible though circuitous course, from the shores of the northern Atlantic to the southern regions of Hindostan, Columbus, by the force of his genius, conceived, and by the boldness of his enterprise and perseverance discovered, to the inhabitants of Europe, much nearer to their own coasts, a new world, replete with incentives to commerce and navigation; and abounding not only with materials for riches, but with subjects of reflection, and means for enlarging human comprehension and enjoyment. Soon after the illustrious Florentine found the West Indies, Americus Vespusius, in prosecution of Columbus's plan, arrived at the southern continent and gave his own name to a quarter of the globe discovered by another. Accident, and not the parsimony of Henry, prevented England from enjoying the honour of this signal discovery. He soon fitted out a squadron, which sailed to the west, in order to explore unknown regions in latitudes more contiguous to his own kingdom, and seek a nearer passage to India than by doubling Africa. Sebastian Cabot conducted the enterprise, and arrived at a coast to which he gave the name of Newfoundland. Steering along to the southward as far as that part of the coast which has since been named Virginia, he ascertained that there were large tracts of land adjacent, convenient for naval enterprise upon the Atlantic. Though Henry did not attempt to establish a settlement on this coast, yet the enterprise was of the highest importance, as it stimulated England to farther nautical adventure. A spirit of navigation, commerce, and discovery was excited by Henry, which afterwards generally diffused itself, and called into action the maritime exertions of these islands, improved by all the sagacity

Sebastian Cabot.

city and energy of the national character when employed in the most beneficial direction.

But while Henry thus promoted the commerce, navigation, and internal prosperity of his country, he extended her influence among foreign states. He loved peace, without fearing war. Though by no means comprehensive in his views of European policy, he understood sufficiently the relations, objects, and condition of other kingdoms, to provide for the security and defence of his own dominions. He was courted by cotemporary princes in every part of Europe, and the English nation was never so closely interwoven in continental affairs as during his reign. Other circumstances concurred with the personal character of Henry, to extend the intercourse between England and the nations of the continent. Previous to the fifteenth century, little political connexion had subsisted between the neighbouring states of Europe; their reciprocal hostilities were rather the effect of passion and personal animosity, than of any well-digested system of policy. Their means of reciprocal annoyance, occasional impost, and temporary militia, though sufficiently adapted to the desultory conflicts of the pride or resentment of rival chieftains, were little fitted for the purposes of systematic war. When England, under Henry V., and in the posthumous execution of his great and ambitious projects, had almost overwhelmed France, the neighbouring principalities of Germany and Spain bestowed no attention on an event menacing the security and independence of Europe.[x] The contests between the several kingdoms of Spain, evidently tending to unite that part of the continent into one great empire, were regarded by the rest of Europe with equal indiffer-

Growing importance of England among continental powers.

State of Europe.

[x] See Robertson's Charles V. vol. i. p. 89. The same truth may be gathered from Hume's history of those wars, though it is not so expressly stated.

ence.

ence. Princes were little affected by remote or eventual danger. This inattention did not entirely arise from the want of sagacity to foresee distant contingencies, but proceeded in a considerable degree from the condition of their dominions, which called their consideration to present and proximate objects. The power of the barons under the feudal system, often either distracting the public tranquillity by the feuds of rivalry, menacing the sovereign by rebellion, or by oppression driving the populace to insurrection, with the imperfections of the civil government, so fully occupied the sovereigns, as to leave them little leisure to survey foreign affairs. This was especially the situation of France, the most compact, centrical, and populous kingdom of Europe; and the best fitted, from the advantages of her situation, the number and character of her people, if internally well governed, either to secure herself, or to protect or disturb her neighbours. The fiefs into which that kingdom was divided, weakened the force of the monarchy; but from the destruction of the nobility in the wars with England, the rapacious policy of Louis XI., and the re-annexation of the English possessions and detached principalities to the crown, government was rendered almost simply monarchical. This event was accelerated at home, and its influence extended abroad, by another effect of the wars. These generated standing armies, which, being now first employed by Charles VII. to preserve his crown, and afterwards maintained by him to humble the remainder of his barons, were now enlarged by his son, and exercised in crushing the ancient nobility, and seizing the territories of his neighbours.

Princes become internally strong.

CHARLES VIII. the son and successor of Louis XI., found the nobility incapable of opposing the will or projects of the prince; and a powerful army, with little to employ its force but the resumption of Britanny.

Britanny. He effected this purpose partly by war, and finally by marriage. The monarch of France, now no longer occupied at home by the English or his barons, from efforts commencing in successful defence and progressively extending to internal usurpation, began to prepare measures of offence against independent states, which had given him no provocation. For the execution of such designs, he possessed subjects whose energy of character rendered them formidable and efficient instruments against all with whom they were at war, either justly or unjustly. Having invaded Italy with a powerful force, he first presented France as the disturber of Europe; a character which she has so often resumed in the three following centuries, with strength of operation, and vicissitudes of event; not rarely with injustice of principles, impolicy of object, and pernicious result. Charles over-ran Italy from the Alps to the southern extremity, and possessed himself of the city and kingdom of Naples. Neighbouring nations were now acquiring similar efficiency of force with France by similar means; by the reduction of the nobles, the consolidation of principalities, the re-union of fiefs under the lords paramount, and the employment of a standing army. Exempted from constant anxiety and apprehensions from their own subjects, they were enabled to watch the conduct of their neighbours; and in observing their motions, to view distant probabilities as well as immediate effects. The most powerful prince of the continent after Charles of France, was Ferdinand of Arragon, who was now, by his marriage with Isabella of Castile, actual sovereign of Spain. This prudent prince, alarmed at a progress which endangered the safety of his dominions, combined with the Italian States and Maximilian of Austria in forming a confederacy to repel the prosperous aggression of France, and confine the invader to his ancient dominions.

Begin vigilantly to observe the conduct of their neighbours.

The

Balance of power.

The object and principle of this alliance form an epoch in political history, as the first effort of modern [y] times to maintain a balance of power; which is merely self-preservation in a community, dictating plans of policy, to provide against circuitous injury and annoyance, as well as against direct attacks. To this treaty, which was concluded at Cambray, Henry VII. acceded; and, though his general caution, and distance from the scene of hostilities, did not suffer him to take an active share in the war, yet his junction in the alliance is an epoch in the history of England; because England then first joined in a continental confederacy to repress the offensive measures of France.

Weight of England in the scale.

Effects of Henry's reign on the English constitution,

THOUGH the reign of Henry VII. conduced eventually to political as well as commercial and naval improvement, yet the extension of freedom, far from being Henry's object, was by no means the immediate effect of his measures. The aristocracy was reduced, but the people were not yet risen to such strength and importance as to oppose a sufficient bulwark to the augmented powers of the crown. Twenty-eight temporal lords only formed the first house of peers after Henry's accession; and the order was soon found to have decreased in authority, as well as in number and possessions. In the interval between the fall of the barons and the rise of the commons, the power of the crown was

[y] From history it appears, that the sagacious Greeks very early discerned the necessity of resisting efforts against others, which might extend to themselves. Animosity, ambition, and pride, were not the sole causes of the Peloponnesian confederacy against Athens; but, in a considerable degree, the apprehension of growing power. When the Spartans became in their turn predominant, a similar confederacy was formed, to reduce the excess of their power; an object to which the Athenians adhered with such nicety of discrimination, that when they found the scale preponderate in favour of the Thebans, sacrificing all animosity to sound policy, they joined the Spartans in order to preserve the balance of power. See Gillies, vol ii. chap. 5. vol. iii. chap. 27 and 30; but mostly in the last. Other histories also illustrate this observation respecting the Greeks, whose policy was so contrary to that of other ancient nations, especially the victims of progressive Roman conquest.

much

much greater than in former reigns. Henry VII. may justly be termed an absolute prince. His government was arbitrary, both in the series of his acts, and the general regulations or laws which through him were established.[z] In his time, the authority of the Star-chamber was revived, and in some cases confirmed by law, and armed with powers the most dangerous and unconstitutional over the persons and properties of the subjects. Informations were allowed to be received, instead of indictments, in order to multiply fines and pecuniary penalties. A tendency, directly or indirectly, to augment the emoluments of the exchequer, was the general character of his laws. Ambition in Henry, descending from its lofty rank, became the humble minister of avarice; but the joint effects of both passions, though hurtful at the time, were destined by Providence to be beneficial to posterity. and general welfare of the people.

Henry VIII. was disposed to promote the commercial improvements which his father had begun; but the knowledge which either he himself or his ministers possessed of the subject, was extremely imperfect. On the whole, all the direct acts and immediate consequences of his government were inauspicious to nautical discovery, and the extension of commerce. Navigation and trade were indeed advanced during this period, but rather by the efforts of private adventurers, than the policy of either the sovereign or the legislature. The first part of Henry's reign was chiefly occupied at home in pleasurable dissipation, and courtly splendour, under the magnificent and ostentatious ministry of Wolsey, wasting in sumptuous entertainments and costly pomp, the riches which the avarice of his father had acquired. The luxuries Henry VIII.

[z] Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. iv. chap. 33. on the progress of the English laws and constitution.

of

of the court requiring foreign supplies, stimulated private adventure, and without any meritorious plans of the sovereign or his counsellors, encouraged the importation of commodities from distant, and even newly-discovered countries. The spirit of maritime enterprise excited by the last king, though little promoted by his son, operated on the nation, and the circle of trade was gradually enlarged in various quarters of the world.

Progress of trade and discovery.

THOUGH no English colonies were yet settled in any part of the new world, their merchants carried on a trade with the islands in the West Indies which had been seized and settled by the Spaniards: they had agents residing in some of these settlements, particularly in the great island of Cuba, for the management of their trade. Mr. Thorn of Bristol, one of the greatest merchants and boldest adventurers of the age, established a factory at Cuba; and was the first Englishman who set the example of a commercial settlement in the new world. Employing the opportunities he thereby acquired, not only for the purposes of present traffic, but for discovery and future extension of commerce, he sent agents to the Spanish fleet, furnished with great sums of money, to bring exact charts of the seas, rivers, and lands, which they visited, and as accurate a description of the accessibility, state, and productions, of the several countries, as they could procure.[a] The spirit of discovery in private adventurers was no less ardent, than the desire of trading with countries already known. Henry, in the beginning of his reign, appeared eager to promote inquiry into new regions, and fitted out ships for exploring the southern ocean. But the expedition by some misconduct or mischance having failed[b], the king, from a fickleness incident to violent minds, and the pro-

[a] Hackluyt, vol. ii. p. 726.

[b] Henry, vol. xii. p. 327.

minent

minent feature in his character, totally abandoned all thoughts of such undertakings. Merchants and mariners, however, persevered; and though some of their voyages appear not to have been lucrative, yet, by adding to the national stock of nautical science, and extending the sphere of English navigation, they produced important advantages.

Two ships destined for South America were committed to Cabot, which visited the Brazils. The knowledge of that coast, and its great projection into the Atlantic, being acquired, Hawkins, father to the renowned voyager, directed his course to the same country, and having opened a traffic with the Brazilians, crossing over to the opposite promontory, was the first Englishman who surveyed the coast of Guinea. With their progress in gain, the desires of English mariners increased; and, their ideas expanding with the advancement of knowledge, they directed their thoughts to Indian opulence. In their voyages to the Mediterranean, having traded to its eastern coasts, they received accurate information concerning the riches of Hindostan, which before were only imperfectly known through distant and uncertain report. In their intercourse with Portugal, they beheld with envy the vast wealth that flowed into that country from the regions of the east.[c] Conceiving with Columbus, that the islands which he first discovered lay contiguous to the vast continent comprehended under the general name of India, they hoped to find a more compendious passage, through which, by easily outstripping the Portuguese and all southern Europe, they might acquire the principal share of the treasures of India. Unsuccessful as the attempt proved to discover a north-west passage, and unfortunate as the adventurers were, yet the undertaking shewed a bold spirit of com-

Attempts to find out a north-west passage.

[c] Robertson's posthumous America.

mercial

mercial enterprise. Notwithstanding partial discouragements and failures, the general result of private maritime pursuits in Henry's reign, was a great accession of trade and riches to the country. Under this monarch, from the progression of causes that began to operate through Europe in his father's reign, the interests of European powers became more involved and intermixed, than they had been at any former period.

Continental policy of Henry,

HENRY attained with the continental powers a very great degree of influence; he indeed held the balance, but turned the scale according to present impulse and passion; being more frequently actuated by the suggestions of his proud, ambitious, and resentful favourite, than either by equity or sound policy. When he ascended the throne, the power of France, superior to any other nation on the continent, the hostile jealousy between that country and England, and the connection and affinity between Henry and Ferdinand, concurred in rendering the English king inimical to the French.

LOUIS XII. was eager, like his predecessor, to conquer Naples; but the opposition of Ferdinand, joined to the treachery of that crafty and unprincipled monarch, prevented his success. A new field, however, was soon opened for the ambition of Louis. Julius II. like many of his predecessors on the papal throne, instead of promoting the meek benevolence of the Christian religion, was the incendiary of unprovoked and iniquitous war. By his intrigues, a partition-treaty was framed between the three great powers of Austria, Spain, and France, for dismembering the dominions and dividing the riches of the illustrious republic of Venice. A league was formed at Cambray for this nefarious purpose; and it was stipulated, that the pope, who instigated the robbery and projected the plan, should have a considerable share of the plunder acquired

acquired by more powerful and efficient perpetrators.[d] Such confederacies, composed of jarring materials, contain the seeds of their own dissolution. The rapid successes of French energy filled the allies with jealousy and alarm. The pope, who had first planned this alliance of the great powers, anxiously sought to excite discord among the several members, involving them in mutual quarrels, that he might expel them successively from Italy, and enjoy without control the sole direction of that country.[e] He detached Ferdinand from the league, and endeavoured, through that prince and his own influence, to excite Henry to war with France. The sagacious prelate, thoroughly knowing the characters with which he had to deal, made suitable applications: he first addressed himself to Ferdinand's interest; then to Henry's love of distinction, national animosity to the French, and passionate zeal for the Catholic religion; in which, as in every thing else, his ardour was violent, and spurned at all contradiction. He persuaded Henry, that in attacking France, he should fight the cause of the church, which Louis was most profanely defying; he flattered and promoted his ambassador; and led Henry to expect, that the title of *the Most Christian King*, so precious an ornament to the French monarchy, should be transferred to the English sovereign. To fix the impression of his religious authority on this devout monarch, he sent him a sacred rose, perfumed with musk, and anointed with chrism.[f] Inspired by devotion, impatient for displaying to Europe his power and importance, and reviving the ancient claims upon France, Henry engaged in a war, which was neither necessary to the security, nor conducive to the

Vigorous, but unwise.

[d] See the outlines of this confederacy and its operations, in Robertson's Charles V., vol. i. p. 117 to 120; and Hume, vol. iii. p. 415 to 420. For the detail, see Guicciardini; and l'Abbe du Bos, Histoire de la Ligue de Cambray.
[e] Guicciardini, lib. viii. [f] See Hume, vol. iv. p. 41.

interests, of his kingdom. Chivalrous impolicy engaged the romantic James in the contest, and kindled a war between Scotland and England. The disciplined valour of the southern Britons overcame the impetuous rashness of northern heroism, and obtained a victory, fatal to the vanquished, and brilliant but useless to the conquerors. English courage and military prowess were again displayed in France with splendid atchievements, and signal success, but followed by no important advantage; and all parties perceiving the unavoidable necessity of putting an end to the calamities of war, a treaty of peace was concluded, which comprehended all the belligerent powers.

After peace and tranquillity had continued for several years, a new state of European affairs gave a change to the scale of power, and to the policy that was expedient for maintaining the balance. Charles of Austria had now succeeded to all the inheritances and acquisitions of his paternal grandfather and grandmother in Germany, Italy, and the Low Countries; and to all the inheritances and acquisitions of his maternal grandfather and grandmother in Spain, Italy, Africa, and the new world.[s] Francis, the first of that name, had ascended the throne of France on the death of his cousin Louis. The relative position and state of their territories led these two princes to political rivalry, while other causes concurred in inflaming their competition. They were both young, and succeeded to their respective possessions about the same time; both were endued with great abilities, though of dissimilar dispositions; and both became masters of very extensive resources. Beside so many general grounds of emulous animosity, they had a special source in their respective application

[s] Robertson's Charles V., vol. ii. p. 1 to 26

 for

for the Imperial diadem. The appointment of Charles, and rejection of Francis, called immediately into action those causes of hostility which must have soon operated from their reciprocal situation and respective characters. Between these two mighty monarchs, Henry of England only, by the greatness of his power, was fitted to hold the balance. Quick in perception, and vigorous in capacity, he readily saw the general policy of preserving an equipoise; and, devoted to the honour of his country, as well as to his own glory, he valued himself on being the umpire of Europe. But though his talents were considerable, his judgment was not proportionably sound; at least, its exertions were too easily swayed by the impulse of temper and passion.

Political security, the principle of English interference in foreign affairs.

THE accumulated possessions of the emperor Charles V. rendered him manifestly superior to Francis; political security therefore, the principle of English interference in continental affairs [h], required that Henry should lean towards France; but he cherished the ancient English enmity to an opposite neighbour. Francis, who resembled Henry in many of the accomplishments on which he greatly prided himself, and in some parts of his character, (though much superior on the whole,) was the object of his personal rivalry. Henry was moreover governed by his favourite Wolsey, whom Charles courted, and bribed most lavishly for the present, flattering him with the hopes of being raised to the papal dignity, at that time the highest in Christendom. Instigated by this imperious counsellor, the English king adopted a policy totally inconsistent with the interests of his kingdom;

[h] See Lord Grenville's speech on the Russian armament in 1791; Mr. Pitt's speech on the negotiation with Buonaparte; Mr. Fox's speeches on the continental connexions which England ought to pursue; Mr. Pitt's applying the same principle to our alliance with Holland and Prussia; and Parliamentary Speeches on the object and grounds of the late war.

made war with France, and, by weakening that country, rendered it more easy for Charles to increase his already overgrown power. When Francis, defeated and a prisoner, was reduced to the lowest pitch of distress, Henry's motive of interference was much less the necessity of repressing Charles, than the persuasions of Wolsey, who, disappointed of the expected promotion, (most fortunately for the independence of Europe,) became as violent against the emperor as he had been before in his favour. Henry's conduct towards Catherine widened the breach between him and her nephew; so that, during the rest of his reign, he was, with very few intermissions, closely connected with Francis, and Charles was prevented from endangering the liberties of Europe.

Henry fully displayed the English strength, though often injudiciously directed.

THE part which Henry took in the affairs of the continent, though far from being uniformly wise, or even, when right, proceeding from reasons of sound policy, was generally efficacious. It demonstrated the force and weight of the English power, though not always wielded by the king from the best motives, or for the most useful purposes. The reign of this monarch, the first period of active and uniform interference in the transactions of the continent, shewed that England was at least an efficient member of the great European republic; and that her relative power being once ascertained, its utility to herself or her neighbours would depend upon the wisdom or folly, the justice or injustice, of her directors.

The Reformation.

THE most momentous event by which Henry's reign is distinguished, is the Reformation; a change accelerated by particular incidents, collisions of passion, and individual circumstances, but originating in general causes. Among these, on the one hand, were the scandalous profligacy of the clergy, the grasping rapacity of their avarice, the enormous usurpations of their ambition, the overweening insolence

solence of their pride, and the gross ignorance of the great part of that immense body, multiplying the absurdities of superstition, which had overwhelmed the wisdom and benevolence of the Christian religion; and on the other, the progressive expansion of the human faculties, from that contracted state into which they had been confined about the expiration of the tenth century[1], and from which, though slowly at first, they had since gradually extricated themselves. The understandings of men, enlightened by knowledge, became more acute and vigorous by exertion, and their moral discernment more just. That great engine of intellectual communication, THE PRESS, was now invented; men began to read, and to reason on what they did read. The bible, which had been so studiously concealed by the priesthood, was discovered and perused. Penetration, now assisted by learning, found out that many of the articles of faith, and injunctions of both ritual and moral practice, were not only incompatible with conscience, reason, and common sense, but opposite to genuine christianity as contained in the scriptures.

FINDING so many defects in the superstructure, men gradually began to examine the basis. Such was the course which the renowned Luther pursued: who, perceiving the absurdity and wickedness of selling indulgences to vice and profligacy, and demonstrating what he perceived, proceeded from one step of discovery to another, until he found that the whole system of papal superstition was raised upon an hypothesis totally inconsistent with history, experience, and reason; that its principle was the infallibility of a human being, which was obviously false, and consequently that the whole train of deductions depending upon this principle,

[1] See Robertson's Charles V., vol. i.; and Hume's general observations on the predecessors of Henry VII. at the conclusion of the reign of Richard III.

were inadmissible on its authority. With the intrinsic absurdity of papal superstitions, which diffused reason and knowledge tended to dispel; with the profligacy of the clergy, which conscience prompted to reprobate and oppose; the policy and passions of princes and other individuals, no doubt concurred in promoting the reformation commenced by Luther. Revived learning, however, raising human intellect to its real dignity, and through the press spreading its influence much more extensively than even in the enlightened ages of antiquity, soon destroyed ecclesiastical thraldom, and dispelled gloomy superstition. The metaphysical subtleties of one set of reformers might be different from those of another; but THE MOST ESSENTIAL AND VALUABLE PART OF THE REFORM, THE EMANCIPATION OF HUMAN REASON FROM THE CHAINS OF HUMAN AUTHORITY, sprang from the efforts of that reason, and was the source of the principal advantages, religious, moral, civil and political, which resulted from this great revolution in the church. These changes, though operating chiefly in the country where enfranchised genius and learning had arrived at the highest pitch, were not confined to nations which formally protested against the authority of an Italian clergyman, but extended to countries where the Pope's supremacy was still acknowledged.

IN Protestant states, however, besides this great and general advantage from the overthrow of papal authority, many other more important benefits accrued, especially in England. Immense sums and demesnes, the tributes of superstition and credulity to hypocrisy, fraud, and imposture, or the exactions of tyrannic violence from the terrors of weakness, which had been employed in fostering sloth, idleness, and sensuality, were now amalgamated into the mass of national property, encouraged rising industry, and improved the public revenue.

revenue. The Reformation tended to promote agriculture, trade, manufactures, and private and public opulence, the means of national defence, security, prosperity, power, and glory. Thus a Revolution, at first sight theological, became a most important event in the commercial history of Britain. It tended also to the improvement of English jurisprudence; by removing from that admirable system, all those pernicious incumbrances, which had been imposed on our laws by clerical artifice and usurpation, to shelter crimes [k].

Effects of it on the commercial, political, and moral character of England.

By the reduction of the clerical aristocracy, the still enfeebled state of the lay aristocracy, and the hitherto slow progress of the commons; the abject servility of parliaments; the vigorous talents, inflexible temper, and violent passions of the sovereign; this reign, though ultimately conducive to liberty, was more absolute than any recorded in the English history. Though the open, liberal, and intrepid mind of the monarch, never exercised his authority in the treachery, dissimulation, and baseness, so prevalent in despotic courts, yet the ungovernable fury of his affections, the profusion and rapacity of his disposition, and the violence and capriciousness of his inclinations, with the fickle bigotry of his ever-changing theology, rendered him unjust, oppressive, tyrannical, and cruel. Under the sanction of those pusillanimous parliaments, the encroachments of monarchical power were established by law. But the political evils of Henry's reign which resulted from individual character and special circumstances, were only temporary; the good arising from the general causes, was permanent, and contained in itself the means of progressive improvement.

[k] Blackstone, vol. iv. c. 16 and 18. on the benefit of clergy; and chap. 33. on the progress of the law and constitution of England, fourth period, under Henry VIII.

Edward VI.

THE short reign of Edward VI. tended in many respects to extend the advantages, and correct the mischiefs, of Henry's government. Commerce and discovery made considerable advances at this period. The trade of England had hitherto been carried on chiefly by foreigners, especially by a corporate company from the Hanse towns, called the Merchants of the Steelyard. In former reigns, these had engrossed a great part of the traffic with foreign countries, and employed German or Flemish shipping. This establishment, which was encouraged by Edward III. and succeeding princes, in order to teach the English commercial lessons, and excite mercantile emulation among them, had been long extremely useful. The council of young Edward perceiving that the reasons for encouraging these foreigners no longer existed, and that a spirit of mercantile adventure being now raised among the natives of England, such privileges enjoyed by aliens interfered with the national interest, found it necessary to annul them, and place all foreigners on an inferior footing to native subjects. This change contributed greatly to the advancement of commerce and navigation[l]: and a commercial treaty was concluded with Sweden, on the solid principle of reciprocal exchange of superfluity to supply mutual want.[m] The great fishery on the banks of Newfoundland became an object of attention, and was prosecuted with activity and success.[n] The English still cherished the idea of opening a communication with Eastern riches, by a more expeditious course than the Cape of Good Hope. Cabot, so renowned for naval enterprise, urged the English, instead of steering towards the north-west, which had proved unsuccessful, to attempt the dis-

Result of Henry's reign.

Edward promotes navigation and commerce;

[l] See Hume, vol. iv. p. 349. [m] Ibid. p. 350. [n] Robertson's posthumous America, p. 16.; and Hackluyt's voyages, passim.

covery

covery of the desired passage by the north-east. At his instance, and under his direction, several noblemen and persons of rank, together with some principal merchants, having associated for this purpose, were incorporated by a charter, under the title of the Company of Merchants Adventurers for the discovery of regions, dominions, islands, and places unknown. Two ships and a bark were equipped for this service; and though they failed in the great end of their expedition, one ship and the bark being lost, yet the other effected very important discoveries. An intercourse with the vast empire of Russia, before unknown to English adventurers, was opened; and on the return of this ship, a mercantile company was formed for trading with Muscovy. Attempts were now made to open a communication with India and China by land, through the new connexion with Russia, by Astracan and the Caspian sea; and though the adventurers did not penetrate so far as they intended, yet they acquired a knowledge of the countries, commodities, and inhabitants of Turkey; which, combined with the maritime enterprises in the Mediterranean, laid the foundation of English commerce with the Ottomans. A commercial intercourse was also opened with the western coasts of Africa; while the traffic begun with Barbary was considerably extended in the reigns of Edward and Mary.

THE war with Scotland, in which Henry had left his kingdom engaged, together with the factions which prevailed under the protectorship of Somerset and the administration of Warwick, prevented Edward from possessing on the continent that influence which his father had maintained. The distractions of English councils, and the connexion with Scotland, now so closely united by the affiance of the dauphin with the infant queen, encouraged and stimulated the French monarch to attack England in war; and though hostilities

were

were soon ended by a peace, the English, torn by dissensions, were losers by the treaty; nor did this kingdom afterwards, in the course of Edward's reign, interfere with effect in continental politics. The internal part of Edward's history is of the highest importance. The first session of his parliament repealed all the laws enacted through the arbitrary violence of Henry, which had tyrannically extended the crimes of treason and felony, and made heresy a capital offence.

and abrogates the tyrannical laws of his father.

THE Protestant religion was fully established, and though the reformation might not extend to every principle and doctrine which unfettered reason could impugn, yet it proceeded as far as the sentiments, knowledge, and character of the nation could bear. The reform was great, though less violent and more gradual than in some other countries, where they laid the whole hierarchy prostrate; yet from its moderate and progressive nature it was the more likely to be durable. While it humbled the pride and ambition of the clergy, and restrained their avarice and profligacy, it left them rank and property, to maintain the dignity conducive to the purposes of their office, in a country where great diversity of rank and property prevailed. Abolishing much useless pageantry, the English reformers, aware that men are as frequently led by their senses and imaginations, as swayed by their hearts and understandings, left a sufficient degree of pomp, ceremony, and accompaniment, to amuse the fancy, and please the eye and the ear, without substituting idolatry for real devotion.

Mary.

THE leading features of Mary's character were an ardent and boundless zeal for Romish bigotry, and an ungovernable love for the man whom she married. These passions, enhancing and inflaming each other, account for the most important transactions of her short and detestable reign. At once a religious and an amorous devotee, she persecuted

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and butchered protestants, to please herself and her bigoted and cruel husband; while to gratify his wishes, and secure a greater portion of his company and love, she oppressed and exhausted her people, and engaged in a most impolitic and destructive war.* Humanity, patriotism, justice, every duty of morality and genuine christianity, were sacrificed to the violence of her affections. Many beneficial laws, however, were enacted in her reign, which, though proposed by Mary to reconcile the people to her schemes of restoring the Romish faith and hierarchy, and to her extortions of their money to lavish on her husband, produced permanent good, while the evil of being governed by the tool of such infuriating passions, was a temporary evil, and, fortunately for the kingdom, of short duration. The gloom was soon dispersed, and followed by the most resplendent brightness.

Her reign, though tyrannical, productive of beneficial laws.

THE reign of Elizabeth, so auspicious to the prosperity and happiness of her subjects, was extremely favourable to the rising spirit of navigation, discovery, and commerce. The peace, foreign and domestic, which her wisdom and firmness preserved with little interruption for almost the first thirty years of her reign, notwithstanding the hostile jealousy of surrounding nations, the furious passions which agitated the continent, and the discontent which bigotry and rivalry kindled or fanned in her own kingdom, were peculiarly conducive to the enterprising efforts of able, bold, and adventurous Englishmen. Strict and vigilant economy exempted her subjects from the burden of taxes injurious to trade; the popularity of her administration among the greater part of her subjects, overawing disaffection and preventing commotion, left her people full liberty to pursue nautical and

Elizabeth promotes commerce and discovery,

* See Hume's History of Mary, passim.

commercial

commercial enterprise. Undisturbed by the factions of a turbulent minority, or the cruel persecutions of frantic bigotry, the sagacious Elizabeth, like the greatest of her predecessors, saw that the security of a kingdom environed by the sea must depend on its naval force.

and forms the English navy.

One of the first acts of her government was to increase the number and strength of her navy. Before her reign, the English had commonly been supplied with large ships by foreigners. The queen, desirous of having the resources of strength and the vehicles of riches furnished within her own kingdom, filled her arsenals with naval stores, promoted ship-building, and encouraged her subjects to bend their attention to pursuits which were destined to render themselves and their posterity eminent among nations. With this view she built several ships of great force and versatility; and as the skill of artificers improved, the number of sailors increased; and from the reign of Elizabeth may be dated the first regulation of the English navy. Her patronage and example stimulated and invigorated the efforts of her subjects in ship-building and nautical expeditions. Carefully examining the advances made under her predecessors, she improved their discoveries and acquisitions; cultivated and extended the connection formed with the Russian sovereign; secured to her subjects the continuance of their exclusive and lucrative trade with his dominions; and encouraged the incorporated body of merchants enjoying that trade, to resume their endeavours of penetrating by land into eastern Asia. Their efforts were at length successful in opening a lucrative trade with Persia, which manifesting to her subjects the riches of the East, produced a resolution of resorting to these countries by sea.

Voyages to America.

As the English advanced in the knowledge of Asia and its productions, their ardour increased to discover

discover a short nautical course to these opulent regions. Their disappointments in the north-west and the north-east, did not entirely chill their hopes: they still flattered themselves that they might discover an outlet which had hitherto baffled their enquiries; and Frobisher, in three successive voyages, explored the coasts of Labrador and of Greenland, but without discovering the north-west passage. Though the disappointment was sensibly felt, yet English courage and enterprise rose superior to disappointment. Sir Francis Drake, so renowned in naval history, determined to sail round the world; an undertaking hitherto atchieved by Magellan only. Having successfully finished this formidable voyage, and acquired an accurate and distinct conception of the commodities both of the east and west, he inspirited his countrymen to bolder and more comprehensive schemes of naval and commercial enterprise, than any which they had hitherto attempted. The English had formerly seen and acknowledged themselves far surpassed in seamanship by the Flemings and Italians, and recently by the Portuguese, who were the first for naval reputation in the annals of history. They now rivalled that country in its most splendid enterprise: and having rapidly risen from inferiority to equality, they doubted not soon to attain a striking superiority. Having confirmed their skill, they felt their force; and perceived that the surounding ocean, so long neglected, was an Englishman's element, on which he was destined to excel. They formed a notion eventually true, bold, and beneficial, that no object attainable by human ability exerted in maritime effort, is beyond the reach of English seamen; a nautical and commercial enthusiasm, therefore, diffused itself through the country.

Sir Francis Drake sails round the world.

ENGLISH adventurers, having hitherto confined their efforts to visiting foreign and remote regions, and

First seeds of colonization.

and satisfied with present discovery and traffic, had made no attempt to form new settlements. Sir Humphry Gilbert, a gentleman of ingenuity and learning, enthusiastic for discovery, proposed to conduct a colony to America; and, having applied to the queen, obtained the first charter for a colonial establishment.[o] The charter authorized him to discover and take possession of all remote and barbarous lands unoccupied by any christian prince and people; vested in him and his heirs the property of the soil of such countries, with the legislative power, and the civil and criminal jurisdiction over those who should settle in the new plantations. The laws and their administration were to be conformable to the polity of England, on which the new colony was still to depend. Arbitrary as the powers thus confirmed were, such was the spirit of adventure now prevalent, that many agreed to conform to the conditions, and became Gilbert's associates. In his undertaking he was assisted and accompanied by his half-brother Walter Raleigh, afterwards so renowned in political and literary history. Two expeditions which Gilbert conducted to Newfoundland and Cape Breton ended disastrously. In the last, the leader himself perished. The undaunted spirit of Raleigh, not disappointed by this miscarriage, projected a new scheme of colonization. After procuring a similar charter from the queen, adopting his brother's ideas, but avoiding his errors, he resolved to steer a much more southern course, and also to send trusty officers to explore the country, before he should attempt a settlement. On their return they reported, that they had found in southern latitudes a most beautiful country, distinguished for fertility of soil, and mildness of climate; of which they had taken possession in her majesty's name, and called

Walter Raleigh.

[o] Robertson's posthumous America, p. 33.

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it Virginia, as a memorial that this happy discovery had been made under a virgin queen. Raleigh accordingly fitted out a squadron, and planted in that country the first colony ever established by Englishmen. The new colonists, however, in the eagerness of their search after the precious mines with which they supposed the new world in every part to abound, neglected the means of subsistence. Being on the point of perishing with famine, they returned to England. Raleigh made a second attempt to establish a colony; but he and other patrons of the settlement being called to defend their country against the invasion of Philip, this colony also failed. Vigorous, beneficial, and glorious as the administration of Elizabeth proved, it was not not very favourable to schemes of doubtful and contingent advantage, or to what in modern mercantile language are called speculations; and plans of new establishments were in her reign carried on at the expence and risque of individuals. Besides, the wisdom and felicity of her internal government promoted agriculture[q], manufactures, commerce, the means of subsistence, convenience, and comfort; and as it bestowed security on her subjects for the enjoyment of their manifold advantages, was not favourable to emigration. But though the first attempts to plant colonies were unsuccessful, the spirit of colonization excited in the reign of Elizabeth, continuing to prevail and increase afterwards, produced in colonies most abundant sources of British opulence and power. Eager as Elizabeth was for the encouragement and extension of trade, in order to cherish it in its infant state, she granted many monopolies; which, though probably necessary at the time, would, if they had continued, have proved destructive to

Wise internal policy of the queen.

[q] A law was made in the fifth of Elizabeth, allowing for the first time the exportation of corn. To this enactment, Camden imputes the great improvement of agriculture.

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that commerce they were intended to promote.

Commercial companies.

The principal companies established by Elizabeth, were the Russian and the Turkish, and one which was destined far to surpass either in the momentous interests that it involved. Near the close of this long and illustrious reign, John Lancaster proposing to measure part of the course of Sir Francis Drake, undertook a trading expedition to India.

East India company.

A charter was granted to the adventurers at whose expence the enterprise was undertaken, and they were formed into a corporation, under the name of the East India company. The first attempt by Englishmen to participate in the trade of India being eminently successful, encouraged future adventurers. Thus the reign of this princess very strongly and effectually promoted agriculture, internal and foreign trade, maritime skill and enterprise, the means of subsisting, enriching, and aggrandizing the people entrusted to her care.

UNDER this extraordinary personage, nautical effort was not merely encouraged as the means of opulence, but of defence, of security, and of power. France, at this time engaged in intestine wars by the bigoted frenzy of furious religionists, and with all her resources possessing scarcely any commerce, was totally deficient in naval force. Philip, who included in his dominions the experienced sailors of the Low Countries and of Italy; the Spaniards, who from their intercourse with the new world

Our great commercial philosopher in a few words states the reasons for monopolies so clearly and strongly, and illustrates them by such apposite analogies, as to present at one view the extent and bounds which policy allows and prescribes to trading corporations. "When," says he, "a company of merchants undertake, at their own risk and expence, to establish a new trade with some remote and barbarous nation, it may not be unreasonable to incorporate them into a joint stock company, and to grant them, in case of their success, a monopoly of the trade for a certain number of years. It is the easiest and most natural way in which the state can recompence them for hazarding a dangerous and extensive experiment, of which the public is afterwards to reap the benefit. A temporary monopoly of this kind may be vindicated upon the same principles upon which a like monopoly of a new machine is granted to its inventor, and that of a new book to its author; but upon the expiration of the term, the monopoly ought certainly to be determined." Wealth of Nations, vol. iii, p. 144.

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were inured to nautical exertion and enterprise; and by recent usurpation, the Portuguese, who far surpassed all their neighbours in naval fame, appeared undoubted master of the ocean, and able to crush at a blow every opponent. This mighty engine, which, if moved and directed by wisdom and skill, would have been so efficient and formidable, in the hands of bigotry, superstition, and impolicy was at once enormous and inert. Part, indeed, of the machine, torn from the rest by tyranny, recoiled upon its former owner. Philip's civil and ecclesiastical despotism rendered the bold and skilful sailors of the low countries eagerly hostile to a power which attempted to overwhelm their rights and liberties. The gloomy zealot, enraged against Elizabeth for protecting her own religion and that of her people against his superstition; the imperious tyrant enraged against Elizabeth as the protector of freemen who durst vindicate their own rights, though contrary to a despot's will; meditated a blow, by which he expected to subjugate England, and to involve the country and its allies in civil and religious thraldom. For this purpose he equipped the armada, which he vainly fancied and denominated invincible. Elizabeth, in preparing and strengthening a navy, had not been guided solely by the general policy which dictated maritime force as the means of defence in insular situation; but having discovered the purposes, motives, and plans of her most potent neighbour and rival, she had recently directed her peculiar attention to the increase of a fleet. In this pursuit, she was seconded by the efforts of her subjects, who were inspired with that patriotic loyalty, which the wisdom and virtues of a sovereign exerted for the public good, chusing ministers and other executorial officers according to their fitness to promote the national welfare, and actually effecting the ease and happiness of the people,

Spanish Armada.

Elizabeth's wisdom and magnanimity.

Loyal and patriotic enthusiasm of her subjects.

ple, never fail to produce among Englishmen. These dispositions, guided by private and individual skill, combining with armaments prepared by her foresight and headed by commanders selected by her sagacity, discomfited the operose equipment of her foe. From that time, England became mistress of the ocean; her sailors thenceforward conceived themselves superior to those of all other nations. The conception powerfully contributed to the attainment of reality. Since that time, defeat, disaster, and disgrace have never failed to follow those who have presumed to brave England on her own element. The same reign witnessed the first regular formation of an English navy, and its supremacy over all other naval powers. So eminently and decidedly successful in defensive effort, the English undertook repeated expeditions to the coasts of their enemies; and though the issue of them was not always, it was generally prosperous. Spain was humbled, and England was exalted.

Armada discomfited.

Henceforward English navy paramount.

Respecting foreign politics, Elizabeth was placed in a situation of infinitely greater difficulty than her father, or any of her predecessors. Religious bigotry was the chief spring which moved the most powerful princes on the continent; their very ambition was subservient and instrumental to their theological fanaticism. France, instead of watching the motions and repressing the encroachments of the house of Austria, devoted her principal attention to the persecution of heretics, and joined in all the dark and nefarious designs of the pope, Spain, and the emperor. According to the sentiments and opinions of popish sovereigns and people, Elizabeth was not the rightful sovereign of England, because she was not approved of by an Italian priest. The legitimate successor to the crown, according to Popish interpretation, was the queen of Scotland, a bigoted catholic, and a near relation of the ablest and most ferocious champion of the catho-

Continental policy of Elizabeth.

lic league. Elizabeth was not, like her father, so situated, as to trim the balance between the rival potentates of France and Austria, and to turn the scale according to her judgment or choice. Much more difficult was her part, to secure the independence of her people, and of others whose interests were closely connected with theirs, against a general confederacy of priests and arbitrary princes, of bigotry and despotism, bandied in atrocious barbarity, in order to disseminate articles of theological belief. In the time of Henry VIII. England shewed she could maintain the balance of power. Under Elizabeth, in preserving that balance, England assumed the character which she has; except in the reigns of the Stuarts, ever since maintained, of supporting the rights and independence of Europe against the powerful disturbers of its tranquillity. Such was the relation in which Elizabeth stood to foreign countries. Too vigorous in understanding and profound in wisdom to be a bigot, or to estimate modes of faith by any other test than their conduciveness to private and public welfare, in her choice of religion she was guided by prudent policy, founded in her own situation, and the sentiments and interests of the greater part of her people.[t] It was expedient that she should be at the head of the protestants. Fortunately, in the two countries more contiguous to her kingdom, and of which the sovereigns, both from joint and separate motives, were well disposed to give her disturbance, the number of protestants was very great; so as in France to afford sufficient employment to the popish combination at home, and in Scotland to be fully established, and totally paramount to the party which from theological sympathy was favoured by

Supports the independence of Europe.

[t] See Hume's account of Elizabeth's reasons for re-establishing the protestant religion, vol. v. p. 5.

the sovereign. So thoroughly wise and prudent was Elizabeth, that for twenty-nine years she discomfited all the designs and conspiracies of popish devotees against her person and kingdom; supported the protestants in France, Germany, and the Low Countries; and furious, implacable, and savage, as was the hatred of the confederate princes to every supporter of the protestant cause, and above all to Elizabeth, she never involved herself in hostilities; but when the aggressive invasion of Philip rendered war unavoidable, she shewed that the same wisdom and strength of mind which had maintained peace so beneficial to rising industry and commerce, could carry on war with effect when necessary for the security of her country.

Security the object of Elizabeth's war.

In her latter years, policy as well as kindred genius and wisdom allied her to the illustrious Henry of France. The catholic league being now broken, and the power of Philip reduced, there being no longer a popish pretender to the crown, the chief difficulties of both her internal and foreign relations ceased; and the queen and country, which in such trying circumstances had arisen to a pitch of high importance, were regarded by foreign states with an admiration that never before had been so universally bestowed upon the efforts of England.

Ecclesiastical policy and establishments.

In her ecclesiastical conduct and establishments, Elizabeth, guided by policy, and not stimulated by bigotry, was usually moderate, but on certain occasions led to acts of intolerance. As long as the Roman catholics confined themselves to their own theological doctrines, and did not disturb her government, she permitted them to enjoy their opinions without molestation; but when she found them engaged in conspiracies against her life, she and her parliament enacted very severe laws respecting a system of faith producing plots for treason and assassination. These laws, though intended chiefly to operate for the discouragement

of popery, afterwards applied to other dissenters from the established church. A sect was now rising in England, composed of those who thought the reform as established by Edward and restored by Elizabeth inadequate to the corruptions of the church, and who, professing to seek a greater degree of purity, were thence called Puritans. Beginning to seek civil as well as ecclesiastical liberty, they were by no means agreeable to Elizabeth, whose notions of kingly prerogative, being formed when the power of the crown, from the depression of the aristocracy and before the elevation of the commons, was so predominant, were extremely lofty: For the repression of puritanical doctrines, she established the court of ecclesiastical commission; a most arbitrary tribunal, which, in the powers vested, the jurisdiction conferred, the modes of process established, and the punishments prescribed, was not less iniquitous than the popish inquisition, though, from the wise moderation of Elizabeth, much more mildly exercised than by a Philip or an Alva. Puritans.

In her government, Elizabeth, like all the princes of the house of Tudor, was extremely absolute. A spirit of liberty, however, had begun to rise, which, though fostered by the wise and beneficial conduct of Elizabeth, was certainly not intended by her to be cherished. The industry and enterprise which she encouraged and promoted, diffused property among the commons; that property nourished independence, and joined with advancing reason and knowledge in disseminating a spirit of freedom. The government, however, of the queen, though imperious, yet generally lenient, did not irritate this new spirit by particular acts of oppression, tyranny, or cruelty. Her conduct, steadily and wisely directed to the interests of her people, rendered her extremely popular. Her manners, Elizabeth's reign eventually friendly to liberty. Popular manners and personal authority.

engaging and insinuating, increased the attachment of her people. From her character and situation, the greater number of her subjects considered her welfare as identified with their own. The most strenuous votaries of liberty were the most inimical to popery, against the approaches of which they considered Elizabeth as the strongest bulwark. From attachment to a sovereign in whom they experienced so many excellencies, and also from awe of so very resolute and intrepid a character, they yielded a submission to the authority of Elizabeth, which they by no means thought due to the mandates of kingly power.

Literature under Elizabeth.

THE literature which Elizabeth encouraged, tended also to promote the spirit of freedom. The writers of Greece and Rome, inculcating so strongly and impressively the principles and sentiments of liberty, were now very generally read among the higher and middling ranks. Genius, no longer fettered by priestly enactments, soared aloft; and though not immediately directed to political discussion, yet by enlightening and invigorating men's minds, prepared them for just notions respecting their rights, and bold and manly conduct in asserting their liberties. The reign of Elizabeth, though like her father's manifestly arbitrary, has, in its ultimate tendency and effects, proved favourable to freedom. Thus, in the various constituents of internal prosperity and happiness, and in estimation and importance among foreign powers, England never made such advances as under the very long but much more glorious reign of Elizabeth. Considered as a rational being, placed in authority and entrusted with the government of mankind, examined according to the circumstances of her situation, the duties required, her discharge of those duties, and the result in the condition in which she FOUND AND LEFT her subjects, (the true criterion

Result of this glorious reign.

criterion of a ruler's ability or weakness as a sovereign[u],) no prince that ever filled a throne surpassed Elizabeth.

James I. DIFFERENT as was the character of James from that of his illustrious predecessor, his reign was in many respects conducive to industry, commerce, and the internal prosperity of the kingdom, though it generated disputes which were eventually productive of the most fatal conclusions. Endued with scholastic learning and pedantry, fitter for being a Latin lecturer on controversial divinity in a sequestered college, than for being the ruler of a great, bold, and enterprising nation, James possessed two qualities often resulting from literary seclusion: he was extremely indolent, and extremely timid; and therefore a lover of peace. The pursuits of his subjects rendered his pacific character beneficial.

Reign beneficial to national prosperity. THE spirit of industry, adventure, and trade, being uninterrupted by foreign wars, greatly increased in the reign of James. The traffic with the East Indies was now entirely established, the stock of the company was considerably enlarged, and its profits became every year more extensive. The trade of Turkey was advantageous; a lucrative commerce was opened with Spain, and the mercantile intercourse with Russia and other northern countries increased in productiveness. The export trade greatly surpassed the import, which, though no certain criterion of a flourishing commerce[x], proved that English commodities were numerous and valuable. James perceived the hurtful tendency of monopolies, and considerably lessened their number and importance. Manufactures

[u] This is the light in which the expanded mind of Hume considers our illustrious queen; disregarding such foibles, as, though they might mark a part of her character, did not interfere with her administration of affairs, powerful, constant, and successful promotion of the public good.

[x] See Wealth of Nations; and the marquis of Landsdown's speech on the commercial treaty with France, in answering bishop Watson.

advanced in a similar proportion, and especially woollen commodities. The king eagerly promoted English cloths, and laboured to prevent the exportation of raw materials, to be manufactured in foreign countries for English consumption.[y]

Plantation of colonies.

In a commercial view, this reign was chiefly distinguished by the colonies which were planted and established on principles the most beneficial of any recorded in the history of colonization. The pacific disposition and conduct of James were favourable to new plantations The planters were not interrupted in their settlements by foreign enemies, and the force sent for their establishment was not obliged to be recalled for the defence of the mother-country. Bold and enterprising adventurers, who languished in inaction during the peace, found in colonial projects a new field for active exertion. A most strenuous promoter of plantations was Richard Hackluyt, eminent for commercial and nautical knowledge. That he might stimulate his countrymen to new efforts, this experienced navigator published a collection of voyages and discoveries made by Englishmen: he comprehended the proper objects of inquiry and research concerning new countries, understood the fresh information that arrived, and saw to what purpose it might be most usefully applied. In the last year of Elizabeth, by Hackluyt's suggestion, Gosnold undertook a voyage to America, and pursued a direct and middle course between the northern rout of Sir Humphry Gilbert, and the southern circuit of Sir Walter Raleigh. Gosnold, having reached a country called Massachusets Bay, coasted to the south-west, landed on the continent, traded with its inhabitants, and having ascertained the fertility of the country, returned to England. Having learned these particulars, he combined them with what was

[y] Hume, vol. vi. p. 14 and 183.

before

before known concerning Virginia; and, after consulting with other men of ability and enterprise, proposed an association for establishing colonies in America. The king, being petitioned, sanctioned the project with his authority. Informed of the extent, and in some degree of the value of the American lands, he divided into two districts the portion of the continent which he intended to plant: the first to be called, the South Colony of Virginia; the second, the North Colony of New England. The projected plantations were entrusted to the care of exclusive companies; a system conducive to the protection of infant colonies, though adverse to the prosperity of settlements arrived at mature vigour. Associated under the name of the London Company, Hackluyt and others received a grant of lands, and were authorised to settle a colony in Virginia. Several gentlemen and merchants of the West of England, incoporated under the name of the Plymouth Company, obtained a similar grant and authority for colonizing New England. On each were bestowed charters, which, though inconsistent with the enlightened and generous spirit of liberty that since has prevailed in this country, were by no means deficient in security to property, and encouragement to industry. The southern colony was first established in the early part of James's reign. Having left their country before the disputes between kingly prerogative and popular privilege were publicly agitated, the new planters carried with them notions, opinions, and sentiments, favourable to the church and monarchy, and transmitted them to their posterity.

Germs of republicanism in New England.

The first attempt to colonise the north proved unsuccessful, nor was the settlement finally effected till near the end of the reign, when great dissensions began to prevail. The planters of New-England were chiefly men, who discontented with the established church and monarchy, sought for freedom

freedom in the wilds of America. Afterwards receiving accessions of voluntary exiles from the persecutions of narrow and impolitic bigotry, they formed a colony, which was inimical to kings and bishops, and preserved that character to the present age.

DIFFERING in pursuit from the Spanish conquerors of the New World, the English settlers sought and acquired property, not from the bowels of the earth, but from the surface of the soil; and the bounties of the ocean liberally rewarded the efforts of active and enterprising industry. The spirit of their institutions joined with the productiveness of their situation in rapidly promoting colonial prosperity.

Settlement of Ireland.

To the policy of James, the nation is indebted for the regulation of Ireland. His measures amended and secured the tenure of property, established the administration of justice, stimulated industry and the arts, and constituted an important branch in the progressive improvement of the British dominions.

Continental policy of James, timid but not hurtful.

IN his intercourse with foreign nations, this king was far from preserving to his country that weight and consideration which his predecessors had acquired. Though the feeble and inactive hands of the English sovereign were not qualified to hold the balance of Europe, yet the state of affairs rendered his inertness safe to his own country, and not injurious to the independence of other nations.

Favoured by the state of Europe.

Henry IV. had harmonized his kingdom, lately so discordant; and turned to arts and industry those bold and active spirits that had been recently actuated by religious frenzy, and rendered France a sufficient counterpoise for the unwieldy greatness of Spain. After the death of her renowned monarch, from her own strength, and the ability of her minister, she fully maintained her weight in the scale. The conquest of the Palatinate, deemed

so disgraceful to James, was too distant an event to affect the political interests of England, and the forbearance of the king might be justified upon principles of prudent policy. But as his motives were presumed to be his constitutional and habitual indolence and timidity, his conduct was exposed to mortifying contempt. He almost daily was trying treaties to obtain the re-establishment of the elector, but without displaying that firmness and force which most effectually promote English negociations for repressing ambition.

In the political government of his kingdom, several errors of the understanding, and weaknesses rather than vices of the heart, combined with the circumstances of the times, and produced dissatisfaction and discontent very troublesome to himself, and fatal to his son. James entertained lofty ideas of kingly prerogative, totally incompatible with the real purpose of any delegated trust, and much beyond the limits prescribed by our fundamental laws, but perfectly conformable to the practice of the house of Tudor. He did not perceive the great difference of the case both as to the characters of the princes, and the opinion and power of the subjects. The Tudors were more fitted to secure submission by cool, stern, and determined policy; to terrify resistance by energetic, though capricious and violent command; or to exact obedience, and insure compliance, through the awe, veneration, and attachment entertained by subjects for the magnanimity, wisdom, and patriotism of the sovereign. A great class of men had now arisen, not only disposed, but able to question any branch of the asserted prerogative, which they considered as unnecessary or injurious to the only legitimate object of government. In his disposition and administration James was neither tyrannical nor imperious, but delighting in discourse and speculative dissertation, he talked much

Lofty ideas of prerogative,

unsuitable to his personal character and estimation,

much more about the divine right of kings, than all the princes of the house of Tudor, who had contented themselves with exercising absolute dominion without searching into political metaphysics. James provoked and accelerated discussions about prerogative, to which the commons were already sufficiently prone, and which his indolent, irresolute, and timid character farther encouraged. The king's theology concurred with his political sentiments in promoting discontent. From the study of polemic divinity, he was the sincere votary of the high church doctrines, and a zealous advocate of hierarchy. The strenuous friends of liberty were inimical to popery, which they accused the king of regarding too favourably. His refusal to reduce the power of the high commission court, whilst he granted every indulgence to catholics, being construed into a predilection for the Romish doctrines, and a hatred of the puritans, exasperated the spirit of liberty already so strong in the commons. Another feature in the king's character, by helping to disgust his subjects, conduced to the depression of the kingly name: his indiscreet and boundless attachment to frivolous and contemptible favourites; and the promotion of the minions of his childish fondness, to offices for which they were totally unfit. The people very naturally and reasonably concluded, that a person can prove no divine right to govern a kingdom, who shews himself so very deficient in wisdom, as, in choosing a minister of state, to consider merely personal graces and courtly manners. Contending with such a prince, the commons were both emboldened and empowered to shew him, that absolute power had no longer subsisted in England; that they were prepared to vindicate the rights and liberties of freemen; and that his boasting claims would only challenge stronger confutation, and his eager but feeble opposition produce farther

and to the growing spirit of liberty among the Commons.

ther demands. Absurd and extravagant as their theological cant and pretensions might be, the puritans were hitherto actuated by an elevated and noble spirit of civil and political freedom, which every Briton who justly appreciates the blessings of the present constitution must acknowledge with veneration and gratitude. Their talents and conduct were well fitted for promoting the attainment of liberty; they proceeded cautiously and gradually, and enlarged their views, and systematized their plans, as their cause became popular and the opposite obnoxious. The king employed rash and violent letters and speeches[z], to which they opposed prudent, vigorous, and decisive conduct. The course of contest produced the celebrated manifesto in which the commons of England first boldly, openly, and precisely declared, that the representatives of the people held certain liberties, franchises, and privileges, not as grants of the king, but as the rights of free-born Englishmen. Though James expressed great rage against the contents and authors of this paper, yet he was afterwards obliged to court his parliament, to gratify them by passing several popular laws, and by his concessions to acknowledge that there was in the country a power fully equal to the king's, and arising from the strength of the people. The latter end of James's reign is a most important epoch in the constitutional history of England, as then first the commons proved their own force.

Disputes between the king and commons.

Commons ascertain their rights.

James educated and formed his son, Charles, in the same political and theological sentiments and doctrines which he had himself maintained, professed, and inculcated. Notwithstanding his own experience of the change of public opinion and of political power, he had taken no pains to model

Charles I.

[z] See Hume's History, vol. iv. p. 114.

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the prince according to the present dispositions and character of the people whom he was destined to govern. Young Charles very naturally imbibed his father's instructions, and conceived the kingly prerogative to be such as James represented and argued, and as Elizabeth had exercised. Sincere in his profession, this prince was a zealous votary of the high church; directed in his opinions and doctrines by prelates, and especially by Laud, he was confirmed in his notions of the divine right of kings, and the inseparable connexion between episcopacy and monarchy. With such principles and sentiments, so very contrary to those of a great, powerful, and increasing body of his countrymen, on the death of his father, Charles mounted the throne.

treads in his father's steps.

A sincere and zealous churchman.

Claims and views of the commons.

THE unlimited power of Buckingham, James's minion, having overborne the pacific maxims of the king, and involved him in hostilities with Spain, Charles at his accession found himself engaged in a war. As the contest was professedly popular, he reasonably expected the support of his people and parliament; but the supplies voted were very inadequate to the expences requisite for the arduous undertaking. The leaders of the commons determined to persevere in the establishment of a free constitution, considered the necessities of the prince as conducive to their purpose, and resolved to grant no subsidies without a redress of grievances, and concessions favourable to civil liberty. Amiable and affectionate, Charles was warm and steady in his attachments, though not proportionably judicious in the selection of objects. Thence he had maintained Buckingham in the high favour and trust little deserved by his talents and virtues, and obnoxious to the parliament and public. He not only protected this minister against the just resentment of the commons, but, instigated by his councils, he adopted iniquitous measures for extorting

torting loans, and invading the property of Englishmen without their own consent. A series of acts, flagrantly violating the privileges of Englishmen, alarmed and roused the commons.

Petition of rights.

OPPOSING firm and profound wisdom to the desultory and illegal oppression of the court, their strong, discriminating, and bold remonstrance procured, in the petition of right, a demarkation of the limits by which liberty and property were secured. Notwithstanding the king's engagement, incurred by his consent to the petition of right, he for many years continued regularly and systematically to transgress the established laws of England; to imprison, fine, and corporally punish men, without the judgment of their peers; to deprive them of their property, and compel them to pay subsidies without the consent of their representatives; and by manifold unconstitutional, lawless, and tyrannical acts, to oppress his subjects.* Virtuous in his domestic and private life, Charles, in relation to his kingdom, disregarded justice, and the rights of the people, as much as if he had been wicked and tyrannical.

Illegal and unconstitutional violations.

Chief instruments of oppression, the star-chamber, and high court of commission.

HIS chief instruments of oppression were the star-chamber, which subjected liberty and property to the privy council, instead of the peers of the accused; and the high court of commission, subjecting liberty, property, and life, to an arbitrary body, also not constituted of the defendant's peers. Though these tribunals subsisted in the time of Elizabeth, they were not only contrary to the great charter and other fundamental laws of England, but totally inconsistent with the principal clauses of the petition of right, as admitted by Charles himself. The chief agents in this oppressive violation of the constitution were Strafford and Laud. The vigorous ability and stern imperiousness of the

Strafford and Laud.

* See Hume's History, vol vi. chap. 52.

one,

one, and the narrow bigotry and priestly tyranny of the other, instigating the pliant Charles, produced iniquitous judgments and punishments, and unconstitutionally extorted money by arbitrary violence, but eventually hastened the vindication of rightful liberty. Even the frivolous mummery of Laud's innovating ceremonies, though in itself merely laughable, yet indicating a predilection for popery, added to the alarm of the reforming party, and their impatience under the lawless acts of this domineering ecclesiastic.[b]

Series of oppression rouses resistance. Hampden.

THE usurpations of Charles and his ministers were destined to have a speedy end. Goaded by oppression, liberty rushed forward with an overpowering force. Hampden, with manly breast resisting exaction unauthorised by the law, roused the votaries of freedom through the nation. Charles's unbounded love of liturgy excited from the north fresh enemies to his administration. Necessitated to call a parliament, the unhappy prince found that the members brought with them a much stronger spirit of opposition and resistance than had prevailed among their predecessors. In their very first acts they boldly shewed, that the commons of England were determined not only to restrain, but to abolish iniquitous tribunals, however sanctioned by precedent; to punish tyrannical violators of the rights of the people, however supported by court favour; and to enforce the redress of grievances in church and state. So far as these votaries of freedom intended to limit the boundaries of kingly power according to its legitimate object, the public good, and to prevent a repetition of tyranny, their purpose was beneficent, patriotic, and meritorious. The legislative and political transactions of this memorable parliament, during the first period of

Meeting of Parliament.

Claims of the commons.

First proceedings of a bold and manly assertion of their rights.

[b] See Hume's account of the consecration of St. Catherine's church, by Laud, vol. vi. p. 288.

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its operations, entitle its members to the highest praise and gratitude from the lovers of liberty, and all the subjects of the British constitution. These intrepid votaries of freedom, these resolute opponents of kingly and priestly tyranny, saved their country from civil and ecclesiastical thraldom, which Charles's priests and ministers were so rapidly imposing. Had it not been for them, England, like France, would have been a simple despotism, subjecting the rights and happiness of a whole people to the arbitrary will and caprice of a single individual.

Spirit of freedom becomes excessive.

WITH this generous zeal for liberty, was joined a repugnance to all authority, however salutary and expedient; a spirit of democratical and puritanical enthusiasm, seeking to level all ranks and distinctions, however necessary to the stability and well-being of society. Actuated by these principles and sentiments, the opponents of the king did not rest satisfied with measures and acts which restrained the monarchical and clerical power from being oppressive and tyrannical. No sooner had they accomplished that important and valuable purpose, than they proceeded to reductions preventing them from being active, efficient, and useful; and after their first year, the parliament (especially the commons) became turbulent and republican. In resisting ship-money, abolishing the star-chamber and high court of commission, circumscribing executive power within the bounds of law and the rights and welfare of the people, the commons were the protecting guardians of British liberty; but when, in their second year, they sought and attempted to grasp the chief provinces of the executorial power, they became enemies of the constitution. In their judicial proceedings, the popular leaders, patriotically and justly attacked the counsellors and ministers of tyranny; but in the mode of prosecuting

Commons turbulent and republican.

Tyrannical prosecutions of Strafford and Laud.

and trying Strafford and Laud, the accusers charging, and the judges admitting, acts to be treason, which were not treason by the law of the land, both commons and peers were guilty of much greater and more irreparable tyranny, than any against which they had so properly and strongly remonstrated. From their meeting in 1640 to the close of 1641, they vindicated and secured the constitutional and beneficial rights, privileges, and liberties of English subjects: in 1642, they attacked no less constitutional and beneficial powers delegated for the national good to an English king; and demonstrated how natural it is for wise and able men, ardent in pursuit of an object good within certain bounds, to transgress those limits; and after having begun with what was right, useful, and even necessary, to end in what is wrong, hurtful, and pernicious. Not only the particular acts, but the general conduct of the king, during the first fourteen years of his reign, recoiled dreadfully on himself, and shewed how dangerous it is for the chief executive magistrate of a free people, by galling oppression, to drive liberty to energetic resistance.

Civil wars. Democratic spirit destroys church and monarchy; and terminates in regicide and military despotism.

THE civil wars, and their dismal catastrophe in regicide, democratic anarchy, and military despotism, manifest the direful effects of popular and prevalent enthusiasm, even though it may have originated in the noble spirit of liberty. Lawless oppression drove a free, bold, and generous people, to defensive efforts, at first lawful and laudable.[b] In their progress, their measures became aggressive, and in their success, levelled monarchy with the

[b] This opinion is sanctioned by the authority of Mr. Hume, vol. iv. p. 302. Mr. Hume, indeed, though called an apologist for the Stuarts, merely states their conduct to be natural, without vindicating it as just, or entitled to the submissive acquiescence of their subjects. See the history of those reigns, passim: on the other hand, while he exposes the evils of political fanaticism, he allows the Puritans to be the saviours of English liberty.

dust;

dust; and instead of rational and modified liberty, established a boundless licence, terminated by military despotism.

Advance of commerce and navigation under Charles.

LEFT to private enterprise, commerce increased and flourished more than at any former period. The trade to the East Indies and to Guinea became very considerable. The commerce to Turkey and the Mediterranean, was also greatly enlarged. With Spain, inimical to Holland, England now enjoyed almost the sole traffic. Under the commonwealth, the prevalence of republican principles engaged country-gentlemen to bind their sons apprentices to merchants, and commerce has ever since been more honourable in England than in any other European kingdom. Trade received great interruption from the civil wars; but under the republic and the protectorate, it revived with augmented vigour. The war with the States General, carried on with such energy, distressed the commerce of the Dutch, and promoted the trade of England, their only formidable commercial rival. The exclusive companies, which formerly confined trade, were never expressly abolished by any ordinance of parliament, during the commonwealth; but as men paid no regard to the prerogative, whence the charters of these companies were derived, the monopoly was gradually invaded, and commerce increased by the increase of liberty.[c]

Progress of the colonies. Virginia.

THE colonies also now afforded a considerable vent for English merchandize. Virginia, strictly subject to an exclusive corporation, experienced the various impediments necessarily resulting from the selfish and monopolizing views of such companies; but by the advantage of its soil and climate triumphed over these obstacles. Its colonists found it peculiarly adapted to the cultivation of tobacco, a plant for which the relish was becoming

[c] See Hume's history, vol. vii. p. 340.

very general throughout Europe. The Virginians rendered this their staple commodity. Having purchased some negroes from a Dutch ship, which visited them from the coast of Guinea, they found the natives of the torrid zone, so much more capable of enduring fatigue under a sultry climate than Europeans, that they afterwards increased their number by continual importation.

New England.

NEW England received in the time of Charles I. numerous additions of emigrants, and increased in population and power. Paying little regard to the royal charter, by which they were first associated, these planters considered themselves as a society voluntarily united; and chusing a constitution framed on the model of England, they formed four colonies into confederated states, and asserted that they should be bound by no laws to which they themselves did not assent, and subject to no taxes imposed in an assembly wherein they were not represented. Within a few years of their plantation, the colonists of New England manifested the same spirit, and vindicated the same rights, which a century and a half afterwards produced a refusal of British taxation, and independence on the British crown. The coincidence of their sentiments with those of the English republicans, rendered the New Englanders particularly favoured under the commonwealth. Unfettered in their industry and pursuits, they grew in internal prosperity and strength, and promoted the trade and navigation of the mother-country. To secure to Britain the commerce of her rising colonies, as well as to extend her general trade, nautical exertions, and naval power,

Navigation act.

was the great object of the navigation act, the most important and memorable of commercial statutes. This act, and subsequent regulations, originating in the same principle, but comprehending greater varieties of articles and details, secured to England an exclusive commerce with her

her colonies; and formed and methodized the monopoly into a regular and complete system. It farther, in imposing a necessity of employing British sailors, very powerfully increased our best means of security and defence. With trade, the naval force of the kingdom improved. The ship-money, so illegally levied by Charles, was applied to the professed purpose. The English fleet in his time was powerful, though not employed in war. Cromwell, energetic and efficient in every object which he pursued, had a navy, as well as an army, superior to all his enemies.

State of Europe.

During the reigns of both James and Charles, England appeared to have almost totally forgotten the affairs of the continent, though requiring her watchful attention. Spain, under a succession of weak princes and incapable ministers, was fast declining in power. The German branch of the house of Austria was reduced and humiliated by the heroic Gustavus, and his gallant Swedes. The bold, vigorous, and intrepid Richelieu, operating upon the French character, was fast raising his country in power and energy. The great objects of that celebrated minister were, to render the monarchy internally and externally efficient. He proposed to effect these purposes, by subduing the Hugonots, frequently rebels against the established government; by humbling the princes and nobles, who often opposed the power of the crown; and by curbing the house of Austria, the chief enemy of French greatness. His consummate ability, directing the councils and efforts of his country, accomplished these objects. He conquered the protestants, disconcerted and overcame the grandees at home, and rendered France a monarchy entirely absolute. Abroad, he made very considerable progress in his scheme of humbling the house of Austria. In his time, France resumed her station, and was the most powerful empire on the

Decline of Spain, and rise of France.

continent. Cardinal Mazarine, succeeding Richelieu not only in his ministry but in his designs, discomfited the factious princes and nobles, and completed what Richelieu had so far advanced. Every year aggrandized France, and reduced the power of Spain and the emperor. The French generals and soldiers acquired daily a greater ascendant over the Spaniards. Almost constantly victorious in a long war, and having detached from her rival, by revolt, dominions so productive, France was now become obviously and eminently preponderant in the scale of Europe. Such was her situation, when Oliver Cromwell became supreme director of English affairs. The character, efforts, and atchievements of this renowned usurper commanded from foreign powers an admiration and deference bestowed on no English ruler since the time of Elizabeth. The belligerent nations saw, that England, directed and invigorated by Cromwell, could give victory to whatever party he chose to embrace. Each courted him with the most flattering and humble solicitations. If Cromwell had thoroughly understood and regarded the interests of his country, he would have supported the declining fortunes of Spain, against the dangerous ambition of France; and preserved the balance of power, on which the greatness and security of England so much depended. Allured, however, by the prospect of conquest and plunder among the Spanish settlements in the New World, and their ships on the intervening ocean, he threw his weight into the scale which was already preponderant, and contributed his powerful efforts to the exaltation of an empire most formidable to England.

Continental policy of Oliver Cromwell.

From the time of the reformation, England had been eminently distinguished for the very highest efforts of literary genius. Among many writers more remarkable for sublimity and force than beauty

English literature and Science.

beauty and elegance, she had to boast a philosopher, whom Aristotle himself did not surpass in extent of knowledge and depth of investigation, in expansion of views, power of invention, and importance of discovery; an epic poet, whom Homer did not excel in sublimity, in pathos, and in force of character; a dramatic poet, whom not any, nor all the illustrious writers for the ancient stage, exceeded or equalled, in the knowledge or exhibition of man. A very considerable degree of learning was diffused, mingled with an incorrect taste, and tinctured by either the superstitious bigotry, or the puritanical fanaticism, so generally prevalent. The predominant enthusiasm formed characters great and energetic, but not pleasing and beneficial. Gloomy in its tenets, visionary in its fancies, austere in its observances, and dismal in its external appearance, it effected a very striking change in the national manners; but the alteration was only temporary. Manners. Doctrines and notions so totally inconsistent with vigorous and distinguishing good sense; sentiments so contrary to humanity and liberality; demeanour so repugnant to frankness, sincerity, and candour, could not be durable among Englishmen. The ferment of passion cooled; the frenzy of boundless innovation at length gave way to sober reason and experience. Men saw that the liberty which they had pursued beyond all useful limits, had terminated in slavery; they wished for the re-establishment of a monarchy properly circumscribed: favourable events seconded their desires, and with Restoration. general acclamation Charles II. was restored to the throne of his ancestors.

During the period between the restoration and the revolution, commerce and navigation rose to a pitch never before known in the annals of England. The two Dutch wars, by disturbing the trade of Holland, promoted the trade of this island; and

Rapid advance of commerce and navigation, under Charles and James.

the peace which prevailed during the rest of Charles's reign, however censurable on political grounds, and however unfavourable in its ultimate effects to the balance of power and independence of Europe, rapidly and powerfully contributed to the opulence of England. Both the fortunes and views of mercantile men were greatly enlarged. There were more merchants on London 'change at the end of this time, worth ten thousand pounds [d]; than at the beginning, worth one thousand. With riches, ideas of accommodation and ornament diverged, manufactures were also very considerably improved. The general spirit of progressive industry was assisted by favourable incidents: the bigoted and tyrannical impolicy of Louis XIV. revoked the edict of Nantz, and drove from their country great numbers of his most useful subjects. He thereby furnished neighbouring states with arts and manufactures, and was peculiarly beneficial to England. The revenue rose with trade, its various branches were much more accurately regulated, especially the customs [e], the species of tax most connected with commerce. The excise, tending so much more effectually to prevent frauds, was improved; the principles of finance began to be understood. Left chiefly to their own industry and skill, the established colonies increased in prosperity and new settlements were either formed or acquired.

Extension of colonization.

New York and New Jersey were ceded by the Dutch; Pennsylvania and Carolina were planted; the first by Quakers, who fled from the persecutions to which, by the intolerance of Charles's government, sectaries were exposed; the second, by persons well-affected to the king. These carried to their respective settlements their political senti-

[d] See Sir Josiah Child's brief observations.
[e] See Wealth of Nations, vol. iii. p. 347.

ments,

ments, and transmitted them to their posterity. The persecutions also drove other emigrants to those established colonies which coincided in their opinion. Thus, from New Hampshire to South Carolina, the American coast was colonized by England. The northern settlements cherished a spirit of republicanism, the southern a spirit of monarchical loyalty. Rapidly prospering under the system of policy that had been embraced, they were adding proportionably to both the export and import trade of the mother country. The shipping of England in twenty-eight years, was more than doubled[f]; James and Charles both vigorously promoted the increase of a navy, which, though misemployed by the corrupt and pernicious policy of Charles, yet shewed itself efficient and fit for defending the country and her allies, whenever the sceptre of England should be placed in hands both able and disposed to wield it for the national good.

Arbitrary conduct of Charles.

CHARLES's principles and schemes of government were unquestionably inimical to civil and religious liberty; and though the bold and generous spirit of Englishmen prevented his designs from being fully accomplished, yet many of his acts, even in England, were extremely tyrannical. His arbitrary measures would have justified a much more forcible resistance than they met; and were, probably, by the recent experience only of the miseries of civil war, prevented from recoiling on himself. In Scotland, the constant and regular plan, as well as the particular acts of his government, merited and excited abhorrence. His iniquitous conduct, at once unjust and profligate, caused great but only temporary evil, while the remedies which it suggested proved a durable good. His attacks on the liberty of the subject raised bulwarks of defence of

Excite the patriotism of parliament to many salutary and important laws;

[f] See Davenant's Discourse on the Public Revenues.

the

the strongest materials, to last many ages after he and his tyrannical efforts had perished for ever. His formation and increase of a standing army gave rise to a law, that a standing army was illegal, and made the national force dependent on the guardians of national liberty; unjust and unwarrantable imprisonments produced the Habeas Corpus act, which completed the security of personal liberty: the vigilant patriotism of the legislature abolished military tenures; the prerogatives of purveyance and pre-emption; and the capital punishment of heretics. It established triennial parliaments; and the test and corporation acts; and enacted many other laws which improved the security of liberty and property.

and to the momentous improvement of the constitution.

HOSTILE as was Charles to the freedom and rights of the people, yet in his reign the constitution of England, in its progressive state, arrived at mature vigour; the true balance between privilege and prerogative was established. By the LAW, now ascertained and fixed, the people had nearly as large a portion of liberty as was necessary to their security and happiness[g]; though fresh restrictions were still wanting to ensure its operation, without interruption, from the pretended prerogatives of arbitrary princes. The tyrannical proceedings of Charles formed the opponents of his pretensions into a firm, well-compacted, and powerful body. By promulgating the doctrines of passive obedience, so contrary to the rights and liberties of Englishmen, to common sense, and to common feeling, the king, his ministers, and church-men, united the supporters of opposite sentiments, under the appellation of Whigs; a name important and venerable, while it signifies champions of constitutional freedom, without extending to invaders of

Whigs.

[g] See Blackstone's last chapter.

the

the no less constitutional prerogatives of the crown. Carrying their opposition to the measures and designs of Charles farther than prudence admitted, the friends of freedom in their discomfiture, near the close of the reign, and the death of magnanimous patriots on the scaffold, left to future votaries of liberty a warning lesson of the danger of premature resistance, even in the best cause. The same principles which influenced the internal government of Charles, directed his foreign politics.

Danger of premature resistance.

Louis XIV. was absolute and unlimited sovereign of the extensive, well-compacted, and fertile empire of France, peopled with inhabitants, eminently ingenious, industrious, and energetic. Ardent, violent, and excessive in every pursuit, his subjects were devoted to the will of their prince, and to the promotion of his glory. The downfal of the Spanish monarchy, and the triumphs of the French arms, so gratifying to the national pride, invigorated the military spirit of Frenchmen. Zealous attachment to their young monarch, and the desire of extending his greatness, stimulated and encouraged their farther efforts. The resources of the country were extensive and increasing; the armies were numerous, well-disciplined, and commanded by consummate generals. The officers, in all the various ranks and gradations, were prepared for their profession by regular and systematic tuition, and thoroughly fitted for executing the plans of their commanders, by the skilful and masterly performance of every subordinate duty. Gay and dissipated in private life, they were in public service strict, vigilant, and efficient. Military stores abounded, and nothing was wanting to render the land force of France organized and formidable. The rising spirit of navigation and trade; the maritime opportunities; the example of their neighbours, so successful in acquiring opulence and strengthening security; stimulated

Profligate and pernicious continental policy of Charles.

Dangerous greatness of France.

lated France to naval effort. The extension of commerce and navy became grand objects of French policy, and made considerable advances. So situated in the youthful vigour of his life, enterprising, both ambitious and vain, desirous of power for ostentatious display as well as solid possession, Louis had strong incitements to attack and disturb his neighbours. The enfeebled and exhausted princes of Austria were little able to oppose this potent monarch. The whole continent was incapable of preserving the balance of power; England only could hold the scale.

State of Britain relatively to the continent.

SKILFUL industry, possessing plenty of materials, desires peace: the result of industry, skill, and materials, is property. War may be necessary for security; but on any other ground, must, to a commercial nation, be unwise. As prospective policy guards against circuitous, as well as direct aggression, it becomes the interest of an industrious and mercantile community to watch the progress of ambitious neighbours. Britain, flourishing and opulent, had no inducement to offensive war, since continental acquisition could add nothing to her commerce and riches; but had frequently strong motives to resist the offensive wars of her neighbours, to preserve the balance of power, which, if overturned, would endanger herself. The aggressive character of France, co-operating with her own circumstances and situation, necessarily imposed upon Britain, her most potent and efficient neighbour, the contrary character, of being for her own ultimate security the protector of continental independence. Such has been the relation in which, from the reigns of Charles and of Louis, the British and French empires have stood to each other, and to the rest of Europe. The arbitrary designs and profligate views of Charles, united in driving him to the treacherous and fatal policy of promoting, instead of opposing, the excessive power,

and boundless ambition of France. Through Louis, he hoped to establish in England his favourite despotism and policy, the engine of civil slavery. From Louis, he received the means of wallowing in debauchery: a king of England betrayed his country for bribes from the king of France, to be squandered on prostitutes, and worthless minions! From a combination of motives, unconstitutional and profligate, Charles II. abandoned his duty to these realms, joined with their most dangerous enemy, attacked our protestant ally, and powerfully assisted in raising France to such a pitch of dangerous greatness.

Manners and literature.

AVOIDING the gloomy austerity of the puritans, and influenced by the example of the king and court, English manners now ran into the opposite extreme of licentiousness and profligacy. Many ingenious and able men fell into infidelity, immorality and impiety, and infected the literature of the times. A relish for grossness and indecency mingled itself with composition the most witty, humorous, and impressive, especially dramatic productions. This alloy to very great literary excellence long continued, until progressive refinement and delicacy removed the abuse. Writers in the lighter kind of compositions, who designed to exhibit the manners of the times, and represent them truly, drew them much more minutely than was necessary; and more favourably than they deserved. One writer, however, though often chargeable with the indelicacy of the times, often hasty and incorrect, remains the third of English poets, and almost the first of English critics. In higher departments of intellectual effort, depending on general views of ethics and divinity, on the investigation and comprehension of physical phenomena and their laws, English genius rose to great and beneficial exertions; talents and erudition supported natural theology, christianity, and the protestant faith;

and

and from these, inculcated religious and moral duty.[h] In the more profound and abstruse studies of mathematics and natural philosophy, several sages attained very high eminence. One reaching the zenith of scientific discovery, invention and deduction, equalled the very deepest and wisest philosophers of all ages or countries.

James II.

JAMES II. much inferior to his brother in talents, a zealous, ardent, and priest-ridden bigot, considered the supreme good of mankind to be a belief in the Romish faith. Imperious, tyrannical, and cruel, contrary to the most obvious observation of his own early and recent experience, this prince conceived that Englishmen would yield to any mandate which he, in the insolence of lawless sway, should dare to offer. Arbitrary power was principally desired by this infatuated and contemptible zealot, to make converts in theology. Neither, like his brother, treacherous or corrupt, though not without a sense of the national honour, nor a jealousy of the power of France, yet he sacrificed all considerations to his darling popery. His priests and his rituals, his masses and his mummeries, he preferred to the welfare of his people, and the security of his throne. Uniting against him tories, churchmen, parties and classes most zealous for monarchy, as well as whigs and votaries of liberty; his conduct was more fortunate for the country, than if less completely odious: it facilitated the success of our glorious deliverer. The very madness of this poor infatuated zealot was extremely beneficial to his country, by withdrawing from him all confidence and support, and effecting a bloodless revolution, in driving him from a throne, which he was totally unqualified to fill. His conduct brought the question between liberty and prerogative to a crisis; it shewed English kings, that by abusing,

Folly and infatuation of his conduct.

Cause and principle of the revolution.

[h] Barrow, Tillotson, and other eminent clergymen.

for

for arbitrary and iniquitous purposes, powers vested in them by the constitution to promote the public good, they soon should have no prerogative to exercise.

Extent and bounds of the change in the succession.

Necessity compelled a deviation from the rules of hereditary succession to the throne of England; the same necessity that dictated the exception, defined its bounds. The disqualification of James had arisen from his arbitrary principles and conduct, chiefly originating in popish doctrines, and exercised to promote popish notions and government. The next protestant successors not only presumed, but known to be the enemies of civil and ecclesiastical tyranny, were substituted, on their agreeing to conditions necessary for the security of liberty and religion.

William III.

The revolution having been thus produced, and the terms prescribed on which the new sovereign was to reign, foreign politics became the most urgent consideration. The overgrown power of Louis rendered a confederation of other states necessary for their joint and separate security. Having heroically defended and protected his country from the unprovoked invasion and usurping ambition of Louis, William bent the principal force of his genius to the repression of France. Much less efficacious in power, and less splendid in character, than the monarch of Paris, the stadtholder of the Hague had a more solid, forcible, and inventive genius, creating and acquiring resources that rendered him ultimately equal to his foe. By delivering his own country from impending thraldom to France, William was enabled afterwards to effect the delivery of England. His successful accomplishment of this momentous object, produced the adoption by England of that system of foreign policy which the state of Europe required. Blameable as were Charles and James in so many parts of their administration, yet they had both applied

Confederacy against France for the security and independence of Europe.

with

with great vigour and effect to the increase of the navy, and left to a successor, seeking the real interest of his kingdom, a formidable engine to be employed against the friend and ally of their mischievous counsels. Louis had acquired a considerable naval force, and was not without the hopes that France would obtain by sea the same supremacy which she had established by land. Some partial successes in the beginning of the war against England, encouraged this expectation. But at length, exerting the full force of her fleet, England, at la Hogue, crushed the navy of France; and again taught her enemies that she was still to be mistress of the ocean. During the rest of the war, though detached ships might be troublesome and vexatious, no French fleet was powerful or formidable. The army which Charles and James had levied and maintained for wicked ends, under the guidance of William, was conducive to salutary purposes. Inspired by the national spirit which supported the protestant asserters of their rights and liberty against a popish tyrant, they performed feats of magnanimous valour[1], and discomfited all the invading projects of the deposed tyrant. They could not prevent him from perpetrating horrid cruelties, but they hindered his blood-thirsty murders from promoting his permanent interest. They at length manifested to the world, that no person proscribed by the choice of Englishmen, could attain dominion over them by force. They also shewed to their French invaders, that an attempt to subjugate any part of this island by a foreign power, must ultimately recoil on the invaders. On the continent, the weakness and distractions of the allies, and the immense land-force of the enemy, prevented the confederates

French navy,

crushed at la Hogue.

Character of William's continental war.

[1] See defence of Londonderry, in Smollet's continuation of Hume, vol. i. chap. 1. and the whole narrative of the war in Ireland.

from

from obtaining complete success; but the efforts of William were strenuous and important. Without gaining splendid victory, he prevented consummate generals, numerous and disciplined veterans of the enemy, from obtaining any signal or material advantage. Jarring parties, and treacherous conspiracies frequently disturbed the internal tranquillity of William's reign; but the greater number of his people, awake to the national honour and interest, desired to prosecute a war with vigour, which was necessary to repress the ambition of France.

England the most efficient foe of French encroachment.

THE exertions of the nation and parliament to humble the foe of British independence, exhibited that combined magnanimity and wisdom, which bears great inconveniences, in order to repel much greater evils. They induced Louis to listen to much more reasonable terms of negociation, than in the days of British supineness he had been accustomed to dictate, and shewed the direct tendency of warlike strength and effort to produce peace to an intrepid and mighty people. In the detail of battles, Louis was the conqueror; yet, in the result of success, prosperity, and power, the ambitious and imperious monarch of France found, at the treaty of Rhyswick, his dictatorial command limited and circumscribed. He there was taught, that the most formidable foe of Gallic encroachment is England. Deprived by a contest with Britain of that naval power which it had been one of the chief objects of his long reign to raise and extend, France might have learned, that a nation which seeks maritime aggrandizement by warring against a nation much more powerful at sea than herself, only labours to defeat her own purpose. From his continental successes, and his maritime disasters, Louis might have learned, that while she directed her principal attention to armies, France might gratify her unbounded ambition; but that

Folly of a nation seeking maritime power in attacking England, which can overwhelm all naval opponents.

her marine exertions to cope with England, brought a reduction of her strength.

THE policy of France under her vain-glorious despot, disturbing her neighbours, unjust in principle, and barbarous in operation, was in its events ruinous to the country which that despot governed. Fitted from climate, soil, situation, and the genius of her people, to acquire, enjoy, and preserve riches, and all the comforts of life; she, under the splendid but destructive domination of Louis, experienced poverty and misery. The wars occupied numbers of the hands which the welfare of the people required to have been employed in cultivating the ground. The imports of corn wanted to supply the deficiencies, were intercepted by the naval armaments of her overpowering enemy. Multitudes perished by famine. The pompous pageantry of triumphant rejoicing for useless victory, could not prevent the melancholy spectacles of wretches starving with hunger. The impious strains of pretended gratitude, attributing to the divinity the successes of unwise injustice, were followed by the groans of subjects dying in the streets, because the infatuated ambition of their prince preferred ruinous wars to beneficial peace. These, together with the depopulation of his kingdom by narrow bigotry, were among the glories of Louis's aggressive policy. By his external politics, he reduced the internal prosperity, which the physical and moral resources of his country, the talents and skill of his ministers, had so rapidly advanced. The commercial and maritime improvements, rising under the superintending wisdom of Colbert in their salutary tendency to the happiness of the people, received effectual checks from Louis himself. This view of the consequences of his wars might have taught that king, that his projects led only to splendid misery. His apparent moderation at Rhyswick afforded some grounds

grounds for expecting, that, for the future, he would pursue a system more wise and magnanimous, and would sacrifice the tinsel of false glory to the real benefit of his country. But those who fancied that the experienced errors of past counsels and conduct would produce a change of object and principle, gave him credit for a wisdom and greatness of mind which he did not possess. His object continued the same, he only varied the means: by a negotiation, and a dissolution of the defensive confederacy, he sought that rapacious encroachment, which he found to be no longer attainable by force. The peace of Rhyswick was intended to facilitate the accession of a Bourbon prince to the throne of Spain. Crafty in design, and dexterous in address, amusing the allies by partition treaties, Louis over-reached the sounder and more vigorous understanding of William, and raising his grandson to be monarch of Spain, rendered a kingdom, so long the rival, at length the appendage of France. This new act of ambition, so dangerous to the independence of Europe, produced a new confederacy to avert the danger by removing its cause.

A French prince raised to the throne of Spain.

The overgrown dominion of France demanded an expence unknown in the history of our wars, and very heavily felt by the nation. To lessen the immediate burdens of the people, a scheme was proposed, and adopted, for answering a great part of the exigencies of war, by anticipating the products of peace and prosperity. To supply the deficiencies of present income, sums were to be borrowed, on the probable expectation that the finances would increase in tranquillity and flourishing commerce, and afford a surplus beyond the expenditure. The debts contracted were to be guaranteed by the public faith, and to be discharged from the public savings: hence first arose, in England, the funding system. At its outset,

English finance.

the national debt was incurred under an idea of certain and even speedy liquidation. The security was chiefly an assignment of specific taxes, which which was supposed, by an hypothetical calculation, sufficient to pay principal and interest in a few years. A national bank was established, for extending the credit and security of government, and for facilitating commercial intercourse and exchange. A mercantile joint-stock company was, with that view, incorporated, under the name of the Bank of England. This body, composed in 1694, advanced the sum of twelve hundred thousand pounds, at eight per cent. constituting their first capital, and repayable at the option of government in 1705; but the debts incurred both to that corporation and other bodies and individuals, greatly increasing during the war, a system of perpetual funding was deemed expedient. In 1697, the debts of Great Britain, funded and unfunded, amounted to 21,515,742*l.* 13*s.* 8½*d.* incumbering the productive industry of the country with an annual burden of nearly one million seven hundred thousand pounds for interest, at the rate of eight per cent. then paid by government.

The Bank established.

Funding system.

To this system of supplying national exigencies, several strong objections were made. It was alleged, that the incumbrance would be an oppressive weight upon productive industry; that it was a temporary prop to national credit, which ought to be supported on the solid basis of economy; that neither economy nor prudence justified the contraction of certain and great debts, upon uncertain and contingent means of repayment; that by this mode, the state resembled an improvident spendthrift, who, from his prodigality, being unable to wait for the regular payment of his revenue, and exceeding in expenditure the amount of his income, was obliged to borrow on usurious terms, and thus to impair his fortune. Enabled to borrow upon extravagant

Arguments against it.

travagant interest, ministers and princes would have internally the means of corruption, and obtain by influence what they could not enforce by power. The restriction imposed upon kingly prerogative, would be really unavailing. The king might make wars, not conducive to the defence or security of his people, and therefore injurious. The treasury, from borrowed money, affording funds for bribery, might, in the hands of an artful and corrupt minister, win a majority in parliament to support pernicious measures of the crown. The facility of raising money would incline and encourage the executive government to promote wars, and other expensive and useless undertakings. All the funds for paying national debt being transferable, and fluctuating in value, would introduce a system of stock-jobbing, and withdraw capitals from agriculture, manufacture, and commerce, to be employed in speculations in the public funds. Instead of seeking riches, as traders, by the progressive efforts of industry and skill, many would become money-brokers and gamblers. Individuals, without ability, beneficial enterprise, and effort, would accumulate fortunes, from the exorbitant profits allowed by government; and the public would be impoverished in the same proportion. A system of borrowing unnecessarily, like every other pecuniary profusion, would increase by indulgence; the debt would not be temporary, as its authors asserted, but permanent and progressive, until it ended in bankruptcy. Such were the principal disadvantages which the adversaries of the funding system anticipated from its adoption.[k]

[k] See Smollet's History of William, passim. From various political writings, as well as the histories of the times, this was generally the opinion of the tories and the landed interest, as the contrary was the opinion of the whigs and monied interest. Enmity to the funding system, though not necessarily connected with tory principles, was, from extraneous circumstances, a mark of toryism.

Arguments for it.

Its supporters alleged, that the loans were not upon the principles of a spendthrift, squandering without any prospect of return; but in the true spirit of enlightened merchants, diminishing the pressure of payments necessarily made for the attainment of beneficial objects. As a merchant would, without hesitation, borrow money at a great interest, by which he had a moral certainty of either preventing a greater loss, or acquiring a greater gain; government borrowed for the defence of the country against the enemies of the constitution, and for the security of our national independence against Gallic ambition. Agreeably to the soundest principles of mercantile policy, the public, when straitened for ready money, had incurred future and distant responsibilities, at seasons of more convenient liquidation. The efforts made through the loans, and which but for them would have been impracticable, would extend the greatness, prosperity, and opulence of the country. The establishment of this system, including the national bank, would revive and confine public credit, and extend circulation. Increasing currency would, by competition, lower interest, enhance the value of land, promote the spirit of manufactures and commerce, facilitate the annual supplies, and augment the means of private wealth and public revenue. The scheme would attach the national creditors to the recent establishment, from which the security of their loans was derived; and find, in the private interests of monied capitalists, a strong bulwark against the house of Stuart commercial men, a class of subjects already numerous and important, and zealous supporters of a free government, would be firm friends to the revolution.

Impartial view.

As the funded system was an anticipating tax on future and contingent, though probable industry, its

its efficiency towards the proposed discharge of debt, was necessarily to depend upon the amount of that industry, and consequently on the existence or continuance of circumstances favourable to its exertions. It was a burden upon future effort, the disadvantages of which were immediately felt, were pecuniary, and could be instantly appreciated by the most ordinary capacity. The advantages, commercial and political, could not be so obvious; and to be understood, required extensive knowledge and enlarged comprehension; and, though understood, to be relished required a wisdom and firmness which would encounter a smaller but present and certain inconvenience, to attain greater but more distant and eventual benefit. The new taxes imposed for liquidating the debt, were immediate deductions from either the profits or enjoyments of the payer. If the system was necessary, justice demanded that it should be adopted no farther than the necessity required; and that money borrowed on the national faith, to be paid from the national industry, should be employed for the national security, honour, and advantage. During the peace, the debt contracted by government was, in four years, reduced to sixteen millions, the reduction being upwards of five millions.[1]

Progress of commerce during his reign.

THE wars in which William was engaged, considerably distressed mercantile adventurers, by the capture of their ships. Unable, after the battle of La Hogue, to meet the English navy, France directed her chief maritime attention to the annoyance of our commerce. These depredations, producing individual loss, and consequently diminution of public revenue, caused great clamours against government; and the disaffected party represented our trade as having greatly decayed in

[1] Two millions of this sum were advanced by the new East India company, constituted in 1698; see Anderson's History of Commerce, vol. ii. p. 597.

the time of William. An impartial examination of commercial history leads to an opposite conclusion. Louis's attempts to destroy the commerce of England, like those against her navy, recoiled on himself. Precluded, during hostilities, from traffic with France, the English began to seek from their own industry manufactures, which before they had imported from that country. Cut off from traffic with her southern neighbours, she encouraged and stimulated the manufacturing skill of the protestant refugees, whom the tolerating spirit of William protected from the persecution of Louis. This liberal and enlightened policy, cherishing such useful preceptors, tended eventually to render the scholars superior to their masters. Affording security to artisans, the free constitution of England applied the strongest motives to the exertion of industry. France lost her exports of linen, by which before England had been chiefly supplied; various articles of hardware, her silk manufactures, and many other commodities, that these realms, taught to prepare for themselves, were soon able to furnish for other nations. Though not without a share in the calamities of war, the American colonies continued rapidly progressive in prosperity. The West Indies were now cultivated in the manner which rendered them most eminently lucrative. Sugar occupied the chief care of the planters, though without excluding in the appropriate soils the cultivation of other productions. Barbadoes and Jamaica, especially, had obtained very great population and prosperity at this period. The African and Turkish trade was considerably extended; the northern was risen in a still greater proportion, as William, from inclination, vicinity, and command of the north seas[m], was closely connected with the northern powers. With Spain and

[m] See Anderson's History of Commerce, vol. ii.

Portugal,

Portugal, from political as well as commercial relations, England enjoyed the principal share of commerce. Even in the East Indies, notwithstanding the misconduct of the first company, and its contest with its competitor, the mercantile spirit of England overcame the disadvantages of a corporate monopoly. The renovated and improved system of polity which the revolution confirmed, secured property, and its general operation promoted the spirit of commerce. The acts, both for extending national and mercantile credit, stimulated commercial adventure and enterprise, by facility of accommodation, increase of currency, and an enlargement of that confidence on which mercantile transactions principally rest. The subsequent means for supporting the bank, also tended to the unprecedented extension of trade. Very favourable to the promotion of the same object, was the principle of re-coinage, adopted by Montague, in the depreciated state of the existing coin. By subjecting the public, and not individual holders of current coins, to the loss accruing from the diminished weight, he confirmed national credit. The re-coinage of silver, on terms so liberal and wise, was one of the most beneficial measures by which commerce was advanced in William's reign. [n] In the four peaceful

[n] The following remark by Mr. Anderson, after his account of the sum subscribed by the second East India company, strongly illustrates both the increase and actual state of commerce at the conclusion of William's war. "After so long, and such an expensive war, which was now but just ended; wherein, also, there had been very great losses, by captures of so many of our rich merchant ships, it gave foreign nations a high idea of the wealth and grandeur of England, to see two millions sterling money subscribed for in three days time, and had the books been kept open longer, there were persons ready to have subscribed as much more; for although higher proofs have since appeared of the great riches of the nation, because our wealth is visibly and much increased since that time, yet till then there had never been so illustrious an instance of England's opulence. This, however, was undoubtedly owing, in a great measure, to the illegal establishment of our free constitution, by the accession of King William and Queen Mary to the throne; by which a firm confidence in the public faith was established on a solid basis."

years

years of William's reign, English commerce very far surpassed any former efforts and success.

CONDUCIVE as the counsels and acts of this illustrious prince were to the prosperity of England, there were reasons, not destitute of plausibility, for imputing to him partiality to his native country, whenever her interests and those of his kingdoms came into competition. The Scottish projects of establishing a colony on the Isthmus of Darien, in order to trade with the South Sea from its western to its eastern boundaries, having been first countenanced and afterwards opposed by the king, his disapprobation of the scheme was imputed to the jealousy of the Dutch. In his continental politics, he was represented by the disaffected in England, as mindful chiefly of the interests of the States General. According to detractors, English blood and treasure were sacrificed for an ideal balance of power, not necessary for the security of these islands. English interference in continental politics might be useful to the Dutch, but was hurtful to this country. Bending our chief efforts to our navy, we, surrounded by the ocean, could defend ourselves against all foreign attempts, and therefore ought not to waste our strength in foreign disputes. The burden and expence of continental war were owing either to the impolicy or injurious designs of William. Such were the views of the tories; who, because unfavourable to William individually and his schemes, became inimical to the interference of Britain as a principal party in the contests of the continent. The whigs, friendly to William, and hostile to Louis, whom they deemed the great protector and abettor of arbitrary power, ardently promoted the most active efforts of Britain against France. These distinctive and opposite plans of policy respecting the continent, commencing at the end of the seventeenth century, lasted

lasted through the eighteenth. Both parties have professed to seek security. The one has deemed naval effort sufficient for guarding the British isles against every danger; the other, either more comprehensive or more fanciful, has extended its vigilance against contingent as well as impending danger; and for that purpose, has promoted powerful continental efforts, as the wise policy of Britain.

Polity of England, as fixed by the revolution,

THE constitution of England, having been ascertained at the commencement of William's reign, assumed nearly the same appearance which it has since worn. The doctrine of resistance to an executive magistrate, violating our laws and constitution, was confirmed and exemplified in awful practice. The laws having been before defined with accurate precision, the power of dispensing with them was for ever terminated. Prerogative was completely circumscribed, that no king could of his own will act contrary to the interests and liberties of his subjects. From that time, if the counsels or measures of the sovereign were either arbitrary, or injurious to his people, they must be so through the neglect of the people themselves, or their chosen representatives in parliament; and not from any power lodged in the king. If the influence of the crown and its ministers has ever produced noxious measures since the revolution, the people must blame themselves for appointing delegates, either not qualified, or not disposed to promote the welfare of their country. The people and parliament may, either immediately or speedily, control and prevent every act of the crown which they do not approve. The liberty, property, and life of a Briton cannot be invaded, but by his own act, either through himself or his representatives. If, therefore, since the revolution, liberty, property, or life, has, in any one instance, been unjustly attacked, the injustice is chargeable to the whole body of the people, and not to the existing polity.

secures liberty, property, and life.

Increased

Grand source of national prosperity, power, and glory.

Increased in prosperity, the means of subsistence, accommodation, and security; in riches and power; in invention, sagacity, enterprise; in aggregate industry and skill; in physical resources, and the characters of her inhabitants; Britain brings undoubted evidence to shew, that a system producing such a multiplicity of advantages must be wise and good.

Act of settlement.

THE same modified principle of hereditary succession, which had dictated the substitution of William and Mary for the lineal monarch, on the death of the princess Anne's son, suggested the act for setting the crown on the next protestant heir. Princess Sophia, grand-daughter of James I., was his nearest descendant, not disqualified for the throne by the declared resolution and act of the English lawgivers. The act of settlement was a corollary from the act of the convention parliament, which had settled the crown in 1689. The political doctrine established in both, was simple and explicit: in the mixed monarchy and free government of England, an hereditary line of princes is the most expedient, and conducive to the tranquillity and welfare of the people. But if the lineal heir, or even possessor, be under disqualifications incompatible with the good of the nation, the next in the line, not disqualified, shall succeed. These were the grounds on which Anne ascended the throne, to the exclusion of her brother, the son and representative of king James.

English parties.

1. Whigs;

FROM the revolution, and through the reign of William, the political parties were, in principles and objects, three. The first, the Whigs, who supported the new establishment from the love of liberty, as well as enmity to popery and the French influence. The whigs were inimical to the extensive power of the clergy, as incompatible with the freedom which they adored. Their doctrines, civil and ecclesiastical, were extremely disagree-

able to those who abetted passive obedience, either to the monarch and his servants, or the church, its bishops, and its convocations. In theology, as well as politics, the whigs estimated the importance of doctrines, by their tendency and effects upon civil society, and little regarded the contentions of metaphysical divinity. Friendly to toleration, they reckoned the criterion of its extent and bounds, political expediency; and proposed, that all sects should be unmolested, who did not disturb the public tranquillity, or the constitutional rights of English subjects. They patronised and encouraged the protestant dissenters, a very powerful body, and firm friends to the revolution. On the side of the whigs, many votaries of the church of England were ranged: these were persons who venerated the established church, as the promoter of true christian piety and morality°; but who, not desirous of exalting either kingly or priestly power beyond constitutional bounds, were denominated the Low-church.

Dissenters;

and Low-church.

II. Tories;

THE second party consisted of the Tories, votaries of passive obedience, and staunch supporters of the church. These, being inimical to popery, thought the Revolution necessary for the preservation of the protestant religion, and considered the popery of James and his son, as the sole reason for excluding them from the throne. The tories reprobated the political doctrines of the whigs, and the theological opinions of the dissenters; and exalting the pretensions of the priesthood, thereby acquired the denomination of High-church. According to these, prophaneness and impiety were the distinguishing characteristics of William's reign, and were bringing the nation fast to destruction.[p]

and High-church.

° To this class of whigs, belonged Burnet, Tillotson, Hoadley, and Addison.

[p] See Pope's Essay on Criticism.

THE

III. Jacobites.

THE third party was the Jacobites; who, though tories in many of their principles and sentiments, exceeded them in the practical adoption of passive obedience, and maintained the iniquity of resistance to the hereditary prince, whatever his conduct might be, and sought the restoration of James to the throne. The two former parties had been alternately opponents to king William; but the whigs had most frequently supported his political measures. The Jacobites, from their principles and objects, had been uniformly inimical to our deliverer, but varied their mode of hostility according to circumstances. Sometimes they tried rebellion, sometimes conspiracies; but, finding their treasonable efforts unsuccessful, during a great part of his reign they confined their attempts to the diffusion of discontent.

All concur in supporting queen Anne.

DIFFERENT as the three parties were, and in many respects opposite, yet they concurred in supporting queen Anne. The church-party knew that her majesty was a sincere and zealous member of the church of England, and trusted that she would support the ecclesiastical establishment and doctrines: they expected, that, through her protecting influence, the high-church would triumph over sectaries, schismatics, heretics, presbyterians, and whigs, over low-churchmen and lukewarm friends of the hierarchy. The Jacobites, conceiving her majesty attached to the hereditary line, hoped that, having no issue alive, she would attempt and effect the restoration of the lineal heir. Aware that the queen held her throne upon their principles, the whigs doubted not that from prudence and self-interest, she would rest chiefly for support on the most strenuous adversaries to the claim of the pretender. They knew that Anne, a personage of very moderate intellects, was entirely governed by the countess of Marlborough, and through her,

Respective reasons and motives.

Marlborough.

by

by the consummate talents of the earl; and that the whig plans of policy were the most consonant to the interests and views of this celebrated hero. Having succeeded to the crown with the favour of all the jarring parties, Anne, on her first appearance in parliament, declaring her sincere attachment to the church, gratified the tories; and testifying her resolution to maintain the laws and liberties of her country and the protestant succession, and her determination to adhere to the counsels and engagements of William, satisfied the whigs. England, again the protector of European independence, and the provident guardian of her own security, went to war with France, the encroaching disturber of Europe. The succession war originated in the same principles as the former confederacy of William. Agreeing in the necessity of hostilely opposing France, the tories wished Britain to act only as an auxiliary; but the whigs, if not more patriotic in intention, at least more comprehensive in view, saw that partial and secondary efforts from Britain would not effectually answer the purpose of her interferences: a mere maritime and defensive war would be only a half measure, of short-sighted and inefficient policy. The whigs succeeded in procuring the adoption of their plan to be carried into execution under a renowned general, now at the head of their party. The powerful efforts of the free states imparted to their allies a portion of their spirit, as well as a considerable share of the manifold resources which liberty formed and nourished. The discomfiture and destruction of his bravest troops whenever they faced an Eugene or a Marlborough; Turin, Ramillies, and Blenheim; the annihilation of his navy, and the ruin of his commerce under the resistless navy of England; the impoverished state of his finances, and the bitter miseries of his subjects; afforded to the aged violator of justice an awful lesson,

Confederacy against France.

Succession war.

lesson, that the wise policy of France, fertile, strong, internally secure, improved and improveable, is not, by disturbing her neighbours, to distress and impoverish herself; but by peace, and the arts which peace promotes among so ingenious a people, to cultivate and extend her immense resources for her own comfort and happiness. What peace had done for her prosperity, war had as uniformly undone. The combination begun and long employed for maintaining the balance of power, and insuring future exemption from disturbance, had completely accomplished its object. But the confederates, in the exultation of victory, forgot the actual and the only wise purpose of the war. Not contented with the king's dereliction of Spain, they sought the subjugation and dismemberment of France itself; disdained the very ample and momentous concessions offered by Louis, under the dejection of continued defeat; and drove him, through indignation and despair, to efforts which in any other circumstances he would have never attempted. His people enraged at the haughty and unrelenting severity of the confederates, and interested for the glory of their monarch and the defence of their country, made exertions that amazed both their enemies and themselves. The impolitic refusal of victors to grant favourable terms to foes defeated but not subdued, inspirited the vanquished and enabled them to make head against the combination, until the jealousies incidental to such alliances, and other favourable circumstances, produced its dissolution. The confederates learned, when it was too late, that having in decisive victory the means of concluding honourable and advantageous peace, which would have fully effected the wise and meritorious purposes of the war, they ought to have embraced the propitious moment. Intestine divisions had not then withdrawn the most efficient member of the alliance.

Peace the real interest of France.

Moderation in victory, wise policy.

alliance. The intriguing artifices of an inferior court servant[o], the bigoted declamation of a hot-headed zealot[p], had not displaced the first general of his time, or detached England from a confederacy for preserving the balance of power. If they had subdued Louis as completely, as by continuing the war they proposed, Britain and Holland, in rendering Austria predominant, would have totally overturned the balance which they had been fighting to establish.[q] The objections of the confederates, from a professed doubt of the sincerity of the French sovereign, were by no means consistent with the sagacity of that consummate politician, who guided the counsels as well as led the arms of the allies.[r] The penetration of Marlborough might have seen the probability of the sincerity of Louis, in his situation and conduct. An interest, almost amounting to necessity, rendered peace upon humiliating terms desirable, in the ruinous and miserable state of the French kingdom. The party which, in England, was supreme in power, could have dictated a peace that would have fully separated Spain from France; repressed Bourbon ambition; confirmed the independence of Europe, the protestant succession, and the security of Britain; and obtained every national object for embarking in the confederacy. If they desired more, they desired too much. Prolongation of the war, therefore, was unnecessary, and consequently unwise and hurtful. In the changes of political rulers, extravagant concessions completed the evils of impolitic rigour. The precipitate advances of the tories yielded to Louis infinitely more, than, when offered, the repulsive

[o] Mrs. Marsham. [p] Sacheverel.

[q] See Somerville's History of Queen Anne, passim. Smollet's History, passim.

[r] See Dr. Somerville's account of the negociations at the Hague in 1709; and at Gertruydenburg, in 1710. Cunningham's history; also the Memoirs of Torcy, and the several negociators.

haughtiness of the whigs had refused. The terms were far from corresponding with the objects for which the war had been undertaken; and very unequal to the success with which it had been attended, and the force which the allies still possessed for its farther prosecution. But if the whigs most justly and severely censured the peace of Utrecht, impartial examiners must admit, that its evils might have been prevented at the Hague, or Gertruydenburg. Oxford and Bolingbroke could not have concluded an inadequate peace, unless Marlborough had three years before rejected conditions, not only adequate, but highly honourable and advantageous for Britain and her allies.

Parties become more determinate in their characters and objects.

THE parties, from which sprung this great diversity in plans and measures of foreign politics, in their long and violent contentions, became more determinate in their principles, more definite in their character, more uniform in their views, and more methodical in their plans, than during the preceding reign. In the first years of Anne, the tories, always much more agreeable to the real inclinations of the queen, were apparently superior in the house of commons and nation. But the use which they made of these advantages, manifested no great depth of policy, and tended little to secure the continuance of their power. The principal object of the tory majority in the first parliament of queen Anne, was to promote high-church doctrines, and to restrict the dissenters. To effect their purpose, a cry was raised, *that the church was in danger.*

Fluctuations of popular opinion during Anne's reign.

THE prudence and expediency of exciting an alarm, in order to secure political influence, depends, in a free country, on the exact state of popular opinion. At the end of William's reign, when discontent had been so studiously spread against the king, and all those whom he favoured, many

many conscientious members of the church really believed that conspiracies were forming by republicans and schismatics, to overthrow the ecclesiastical establishment. To its well-meaning votaries, the church was then the chief subject of anxiety and alarm. But though they were churchmen, they were Englishmen and protestants; and if they hated presbyterians much, they hated Frenchmen and popery more. The war breaking out, occupied their attention, and engaged their passions. The grand and comprehensive scheme of operations promoted by the whigs, proved successful. If they regarded the tories as the protectors of the church, they considered the whigs as the vanquishers of our most inveterate enemies. Their fears for the church were forgotten in the triumphant joy for the glory of their country. Dissenters were not the only enemies of the church. Conspiracies in favour of the pretender, revived their fears of popery; and turned their favourable attention to those whom they considered as the champions of the protestant succession. The house of lords, averse to the bigotry and violence by which the commons were actuated, strenuously opposed their bill against occasional conformity, and other measures of impassioned persecution, tending to oppress the dissenters. Defeating these illiberal propositions, they exhibited that moderation which so peculiarly becomes the intermediate body, that the constitution intends to hold the balance between popular intemperance and monarchical encroachment, and afforded a striking and salutary instance of the wisdom and utility of the controls established by the British constitution. From these causes, the tide of popular opinion began to flow for the whigs. With a support so very momentous to a political party, other circumstances co-operated: the whig system

of continental policy rendered our allies peculiarly friendly to that party, because urging the most extensive and vigorous efforts: they were closely connected with the monied interest, that could and did contribute most powerfully to the immense pecuniary exertions requisite in the present scheme of war. If inclination, therefore, attached the queen to the tories, policy impelled her to support and employ the whigs. The interest and ambition of Marlborough directed him to join that party, as his transcendent abilities placed him at the head of any set of men with whom he united. His duchess, by her uncontrolled power over the queen, strongly assisted in rendering her majesty (though in her heart a zealous tory) in her conduct a most active and effectual instrument under the direction of the whigs. Though there were among the tories, men of considerable abilities, yet in the aggregate of talents, the whigs were greatly superior. The men of the highest estimation in church[s], state[t], and literature[u], were of their side: not only favourable circumstances, but continuance in office, mutual intercourse, and coincidence of views and interests, rendered the whigs a closely-compacted body, capable of acting very powerfully in concert. Their principles of conduct and bond of union were such, as they durst openly avow; a firm attachment to liberty, to the British constitution as recently ascertained and established, and to the protestant succession as preserving and securing our rights and polity. Hence they were eager promoters of every scheme that tended to ensure the settlement of the crown, and closely connected themselves with the family of Hanover;

Whigs, a compact, firm, and powerful body.

[s] Atterbury was not yet known.

[t] Harley, Harcourt, and St. John, had not joined the tories.

[u] Swift was connected with Addison, Halifax, and other illustrious whigs. Pope was not yet known.

which

which, from their principles, protestations, and conduct, regarded this body as its most assured friends, and indeed the bulwark of the expected accession.

THE able and enlightened politicians of that party strenuously promoted literary effort: some of them were themselves men of taste, erudition, and philosophy: those who were not scholars, possessing vigorous understandings, knowing mankind, and the state of society in England, liberally and wisely patronised learning. Many works were published in favour of general freedom, and particularly the whig acceptation of freedom, by the disciples of the celebrated Locke. Intending the greatest perfection of polity, and the highest happiness of mankind, but accustomed to metaphysical disquisition in speculating upon government, this renowned philosopher rather contemplates his own abstractions, than considers man as he is found by observation and experience. Taking their tone from this extraordinary man, other whig writers on political subjects, recurring to his metaphysical principles, drew from them subtle inferences, leading, if admitted, to republicanism, democracy, and even to equality of rank and property. x This was also the kind of doctrine often advanced in the senate, where there was a great predilection for abstract reasoning on politics. Neither speakers nor writers appeared aware of the consequences of such theories, if practically adopted; and though it was very evident they were far from desiring to carry them literally into execution, they however afforded a handle to their opponents, to charge them with an inclination to overturn the church and monarchy. The tories represented their adversaries as republicans, and endeavoured to impress the queen with the same idea, and to revive among the

Whig literature.

Political metaphysics take the tone of Locke.

Practical conduct.

x See Hoadley, Tindal, and many other literary supporters of the whigs.

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people an alarm that the church was in danger. Established with the people by a series of victory and glory, with the queen by the applause of the country, the splendor and success of their atchievements, and the influence of the Marlborough family, with the destined successors to the crown by their exertions in their favour, the whig party, numerous, able, compact, and skilful, had probable grounds for conceiving that its power would be lasting. This expectation, however, proved vain: soon after their power had reached its highest zenith, it was overthrown by trifling instruments. An inferior menial first broke one great tie by which the queen was bound to the whigs, and through them to the continental confederacy; and was the means of conforming her political conduct to the wishes of the tories, by disposing her to abandon the whig administration, and its political plans. She was soon impressed with an opinion, that the church was endangered, from the prevalence of the whigs, and their friends the dissenters. Meanwhile the high-church party was extremely active in inciting the people against their adversaries: they represented the war, which had brought very heavy and oppressive burdens on the public, as carried on now for the interested purposes of the ministers. According to the tories, the increasing taxes, and the loss of so many countrymen and relations, were now no longer undergone for the security and glory of England, but to gratify the ambition and avarice of an interested faction. Besides the horrors of a now unnecessary war, the whig counsels, (they asserted,) and measures, were pernicious in peace, and tended to overthrow government and religion. The whigs were schismatics, infidels, republicans, and levellers. The church was in the most imminent danger, and must perish, unless the people were roused to overwhelm

the whigs and dissenters. Eagerly urged by clerical demagogues and other ardent partisans, these topics now spread the alarm which had in vain been attempted some years before. The train having been thus laid, a person was not long wanting to light the match. Sacheverel, a furious adventurer in high-church doctrines, without ability, learning, or eloquence, directed the opinions, and guided and stimulated the conduct, of the majority of the people throughout England. His discourses, contemptible in themselves, were venerated and adored, for the reason which has so often procured currency and admiration to frivolous nonsense or inflammatory fanaticism; they declaimed for the popular prejudices which then happened to be afloat. The fumes of bigotry which he blew up might have evaporated, had not the whigs, by a trial, taken the most effectual means to give him and his inculcations importance. Exalted by a well-deserved but ill-judged impeachment, Sacheverel afforded a lesson to future statesmen and politicians, of the inefficacy of persecution to remove popular delusion. The extravagant ravings of this infuriated bigot were received through the kingdom as oracles of wisdom. Imbibing the general sentiment, the queen became eagerly desirous of being freed from the whig administration. Addresses, drawn up in the moment of enthusiasm, were represented as the dictates of conviction and solid reasoning. During the popular ferment, parliament being dissolved, the elections (as might have been with certainty foreseen) proved decidedly favourable to the promoters of the ferment; the whigs were dismissed. Mr. Harley professed to desire a coalition of parties; but the means that were employed by those whom he now headed, being very inimical to such a junction, the tories held the offices of administration which had been forcibly wrested from

For a time defeated by high-church enthusiasm.

the whigs, and these two parties became irreconcileable adversaries. As the tories had represented their party as the only friends of the church and monarchy, the whigs declared themselves the only supporters of constitutional liberty and the protestant succession; and imputed the peace to a partiality for Louis, as the supporter of arbitrary power, and the pretender. With a resolute firmness, adhering more closely to their principles and party than even when in office, the whigs were a very powerful body to promote or thwart any political measure. Both principle and interest bound them to the house of Hanover; they impressed that family with the persuasion, that both the internal and foreign politics of the tories were intended and calculated for the restoration of James Stuart; that the queen eagerly desired that violation of the parliamentary settlement; that the whigs, and they only, were securing the throne to the protestant succession; and thus, that when the Hanoverian prince should be called to the crown, he would find his subjects divided into two parties; the one his friends, and the other his enemies. Successful in conveying to the court of Hanover this opinion, they gave to its princes a bias, which lasted long after their accession to the British throne.

Whigs zealously support the protestant succession.

FROM zeal for the protestant accession, as well as from sound and comprehensive general policy, proceeded a measure, which, though opposed by narrow views of national prejudice and pride, has been momentously beneficial to the two countries that formerly constituted separate kingdoms in the island of Great Britain. The Union for ever put an end to those internal wars which had formerly occasioned the desolation of both. It detached Scotland from a connection with France, not less hurtful to herself than troublesome to England.

Union with Scotland,

England. It prevented the crowns from being separated[y], as would have most probably taken place, had the two kingdoms continued in a state of political disunion. It delivered both nations from the impending evils of a controverted regal succession, and the fears which were justly entertained for the protestant religion and civil liberty. Preserving to both countries the protestant faith and a free limited monarchy, both in ecclesiastical and civil concerns, it left to each party the forms, articles, institutions, and laws, to which they were most accustomed and attached, which were interwoven with their manners, their sentiments, their opinions, their property, their domestic and civil engagements, and their duties. Both Scotland and England could now impart to each other their respective advantages, and both were gainers by the participation. Of the two, the party which laboured under the greatest wants, no doubt, acquired the greater advantage by a co-partnership, which afforded the means of supply; but the benefit which Scotland derived, being still dependent on her own industry and skill, she by those very qualities promoted the interest of England. Without minutely scrutinizing the comparative emoluments of both, we evidently perceive, that England and Scotland, in the means of subsistence, accommodation, defence, riches, power, comfort at home, and respectability abroad, are both severally and jointly beyond all calculation benefited by the UNION.

a grand source of internal and external benefit to both kingdoms.

COMMERCE continued in this reign to increase in enterprise, skill, and success: the views of merchants were enlarged, as their importance so greatly rose in the community. The war, no doubt,

Commerce and navigation, under queen Anne.

[y] See proceedings in the Scottish Parliament and nation, from the first years of queen Anne till the Union; and the views not only of the Jacobites, but of the Presbyterians. See Somerville, Cunningham, Smollet, &c.

interrupted

interrupted trade, by the capture of ships; this evil, to a certain degree unavoidable, was heightened by the inattention of the admiralty to the important department of its business, which should provide convoys. The near relation of the lord high admiral to the sovereign, through delicacy, prevented so close and vigorous an investigation into the conduct of naval affairs, as the interests of commerce and the good of the country required. But notwithstanding these disadvantages, manufactures and commerce were extremely flourishing. Civil and religious liberty invited many industrious and skilful foreigners into this country; while others fled thither from the horrors of war. The enlarged policy of the whigs, who saw the advantages that had resulted, and were resulting, from the emigration of ingenious and industrious refugees, and who knew that the wealth and power of the nation rises with the number of capable and active inhabitants, in order to attach the late emigrants completely to the country, proposed that they should be naturalized, and a law was actually passed for that purpose; which, lasting till near the end of the reign, was extremely favourable both to trade and public credit. The refugees promoted manufactures and merchandise, and were also purchasers to a very considerable extent in the funds. One very convincing proof of the increase of commerce during this reign, was the rise of public credit; the ease with which very large [z] supplies were raised for the use of government; and the readinesss with which loans were obtained at six per cent. instead of eight, amounting to upwards of three millions annually[a], besides

[z] According to the value of money and estimation of expences in those times.

[a] The national debt, which, at the commencement of Anne's reign, was 16,394,701*l.* 10*s.* 7¼*d.*, at the end of it amounted to 53,681,076*l.* 5*s.* 6½*d.* As by far the greater part of this debt was owing to British subjects, it is a proof how much commerce and private riches must have been augmented.

the

the yearly taxes. Our North American colonies continuing to experience that wise and benignant policy, which, satisfied with affording protection and claiming general allegiance, left internal efforts and industry to their own course, was the most important and rising market for British manufactures and commerce.[b]

THE trade to the West India colonies was also now of considerable importance. The East India traffic, small as it was, compared with present times, yet notwithstanding the cessation of competition by the union of the two companies into one, was making a lucrative accession to British opulence. Our trade with Spain almost ceased, during the war concerning its crown; but our traffic to other parts of Europe, and to Africa, was, from our maritime strength and the weakness of our enemies, proportionably enlarged. Exerting our naval force in annoying the enemy, and (though not uniformly) in protecting our own commerce, we fully taught contending nations a lesson, which they might have partially learned before, that if weaker commercial naval powers are fighting with a stronger, while the inferior loses his mercantile gain, the superior, by commanding the seas, promotes his trade. Of commercial treaties concluded in this reign, the convention with Portugal proved beneficial to this country, though it shewed that the principles of commercial philosophy were not yet thoroughly understood. The revered authority of Locke had impressed statesmen with a very erroneous principle in political economy, that national wealth consists in the quantity of gold and silver which a country possesses; that therefore the chief object of a commercial statesman is to increase

Principles of political economy not thoroughly understood.

[b] See the statement quoted by Mr. Burke from official documents, in his speech, March 22d, 1775, on conciliation with America.

these

these precious metals. The professed object of Mr. Methven's treaty with Portugal, was to procure for our commodities, gold from the Brazils; a purpose which might have been effected without any treaty, while Britain could supply such articles as the possessors of gold wanted. The interchange has, on the whole, proved more lucrative to the Portuguese than to the British: still, however, though the balance of trade may have been against us with Portugal[c], it has been advantageous as a source of traffic, of revenue, and a nursery for seamen. The chief objections to the commercial treaty of Utrecht, were founded on the same erroneous system.[d] It was alleged, that a treaty with France, by interfering with our treaty with Portugal, would diminish our imports of Brazil gold.

Character and result of Anne's reign.

ANNE's reign, notwithstanding a war of eleven years, was favourable to commerce, and the prosperity of the country. In her external relations, Britain made much greater and more extensive efforts on the continent than at any former period, though she was precipitate and impolitic in the negociation at Utrecht, and thereby yielded much too advantageous terms to the aggressor, whom she had vanquished; yet, in the misery of his people, the bankruptcy of his finances, and the discomfiture of his force, she evinced to Louis, that the unjust ambition of the French sovereign, which compelled Britain to arm against him, rendered that fine country wretched, which might have been happy.

WHILE the parties, that raged with such violence from the dismissal of the whig ministry, were increasing in mutual hatred and inveteracy, the death of Anne called a new family to the throne.

[c] See Wealth of Nations, vol. ii. p. 325.

[d] That a trade may be advantageous to a party, against whom the balance is, is now very evident; as may be clearly seen in the Wealth of Nations, and also in the marquis of Lansdowne's speech on the commercial treaty with France.

GEORGE,

GEORGE, elector of Hanover, a prince of a solid and vigorous capacity, well skilled in the history of politics and interests of the different European powers, a brave, prudent, experienced general, was in the prime of life, when, as next protestant heir of the royal line, he became by the rule of inheritance, as it had been modified by the king and parliament, sovereign of these realms. In his person, hereditary succession was as closely adhered to as was compatible with liberty and religion: the direct and next presumptive heirs having chosen to disqualify themselves, the next who had not disqualified himself succeeded. George, a great-grandson of a king of England, sprung from that king's daughter, came to the throne, instead of James, another great-grandson of the same king, sprung from his son. Hereby the extent and limitations of hereditary succession to the crown were ascertained: the lineal heir was to succeed, unless by refusing to comply with the conditions required, he himself should virtually renounce the inheritance. George I.

FITTED by his talents, dispositions, and character, to govern his new kingdoms suitably to their interests and views, George's administration gave much satisfaction to those who had stood forth as the champions of civil, religious, and constitutional liberty. Policy as well as inclination attached him first and chiefly to the whigs, the strenuous supporters of himself and his family. The tory leaders in the last ministry of queen Anne, had gone such lengths in opposing the whigs, as to be deemed inimical to the succession of the house of Hanover. If they did not design the restoration of the lineal heir, their actions had appeared conducive to that purpose. They had cultivated a close intercourse with Louis, the great patron of the pretender; promoted known jacobites to civil and military offices; and dismissed from the army whig officers, attached to the whigs;

to

to make room for persons attached to the house of Stuart. At the election, jacobites had been countenanced and chosen, through the influence and patronage of the tory party.[e] The ministers had effected the repeal of the barrier-treaty, which bound the States-General to guarantee the protestant succession; were extremely cold to the Dutch, the zealous friends of that settlement; and encouraged invectives against king William, its framer, and all its principal supporters. The tories encouraged writings and writers inimical to the protestant succession. The high-church, so much venerated by the tories, abetted the doctrines of indefeasible hereditary right, and were ardent in inculcating intolerance to dissenters, the warm friends of the revolution and protestant succession, and enemies of jacobitism and the principles by which it was upheld. While the tories so acted, as to exhibit a probable appearance of a friendly disposition to the jacobites, they strenuously opposed every measure desired by the friends of the house of Hanover as conducive to the security of the protestant succession.[f] Although the concurrence of so many circumstances did not positively prove the tory leaders to have formed a design against the Hanoverian succession, and though they all might have arisen from different causes, yet they together constituted such a degree of probability as to render it prudent in the king to repose his first trust in the whigs, and to be cautious and circumspect in bestowing high offices on any of the active tory leaders until he had investigated their intentions. But, perhaps it might have been practicable for the king to have gradually conciliated the greater number of the most active tories. His promotion of whigs

suspicious of the tories.

Employs whigs too exclusively.

[e] See Somerville's Dissertation on the Danger of the Protestant Succession, at the end of his History, passim. Cunningham's History.

[f] See Swift's Thoughts on the present State of Affairs, passim.

exclusively,

exclusively, and dismission of tories indiscriminately, from the recent conduct of both respectively, was natural, though a more comprehensive scheme of policy would have been wise. At the time of the accession, the passions and prejudices of both sides were extremely high. The cool and impartial examination of a discerning and unbiassed stranger must have seen, that there were on both sides great abilities and great virtues, mingled with the violence and excesses of party zeal; and that the leading and acting men on both sides might be rendered useful in various departments of public service. But George, though discerning, was not unbiassed; though calm in his own temper, judicious in his opinions, and temperate in his conduct, yet, from his situation, and the conections which it had dictated, he was become the member of a party; and ascended the throne of England on the one hand, with the liberal and enlightened principles, but on the other, with the prejudices and passions, of an English whig. Chusing from that party his ministers and confidential advisers, he not only, by this first measure of his government, disgusted the tories, on account of the exclusive preference of their adversaries, but imbibing the resentments of the whigs, too readily and hastily countenanced their prosecutions. The intemperance of ministerial proceedings excited great displeasure among the friends and supporters of the prosecuted leaders, and giving particular umbrage to the high-church party, inspired the jacobites with a notion, that the disapprobation testified or discovered on account of these acts, and the partiality of the king to the whig party, indicated a general dissatisfaction with the whole system of his new government. From this misapprehension, they conceived the opportunity favourable to the pretender. Hence, together with the instigations of the old tyrant of France,

Intemperate violence of the whigs.

France, arose the rebellion of 1715. The comparatively small number of those who joined in this insurrection, and the vast majority which adhered to king George, to civil and religious liberty, proved, that though certain counsels of ministry were not agreeable to the whole of the nation, yet the house of Hanover was firmly established on the throne. The trifling attempts that were afterwards made in the same reign, being so speedily discomfited, confirmed the same position. Indeed it was evident, that the good sense of the British, their firmness and patriotism, would strenuously and successfully resist every future attempt to deprive them of the blessings which they enjoyed under the house of Hanover. It was farther obvious, that the security of the king and the existing establishment rested solely upon his subjects themselves, as by those only the disturbances were quelled. But though the number of those who actively rose against the king was but small, very many continued dissatisfied with the monopoly of favour and confidence enjoyed by the whigs. That policy, justifiable only if necessary, maintained a very great division in the kingdom, and precluded the nation from the services of many brave, able, and enterprising men. The prosecutions against the tory leaders very strikingly manifested the injustice and oppression arising from a violent spirit of party. The most arbitrary ministers could not have wrested facts and circumstances more, to give a plausible colour to tyranny, than the professed champions of liberty in their constructions of Lord Oxford's acts; in their endeavours to impute treason[g] to Bolingbroke and Atterbury, and in compelling the

Prosecutions.

[g] Swift's account of the mode proposed in the academy of projectors, for discovering plots and conspiracies, was not a much overcharged satire against the whig deviators from the salutary strictness of Edward III.'s definitions of treason.

most

most illustrious and able men, without any evidence of guilt, to seek refuge in exile.

The first years of the whig administration being employed chiefly in reducing their adversaries, they afterwards proceeded to a system of general policy. Their professed objects were, to secure the protestant succession, and to promote the financial and commercial prosperity of the country. The real tendency of their conduct, however, in a great degree, was to extend the influence of ministry over the monied interest and the legislature. The first parliament which met after George's accession, being elected when the whigs had just recovered their superiority, consisted in a great measure of members of that party. Before the three years had expired, ministry had declined very much in popularity. The nation, though it had shewn itself firmly attached to the establishment, did not approve of the exclusive government of one class of men. There was much reason, therefore, to expect, that a new election might return many representatives not friendly to the whig monopoly. To prevent so probable an obstruction, the whig leaders formed a very bold and effectual project: this was to procure an act establishing septennial parliaments instead of triennial, and prolonging the present for four years. The amount of this act was, that delegates, chosen by their constituents for three years, voted, without the consent of these constituents, that the trust should last for four years longer than it had been conferred by the owners. The alleged reason was, the prevalence of disaffection and jacobitism, which the ferment of a new election would stimulate and promote. Triennial parliaments served to keep up party divisions: a longer term would contribute powerfully to the evaporation of discontent and factious passions, and secure the protestant settlement and the tranquillity of the country. The opponents of the change insisted, that

Septennial parliaments.

that on the same principle by which trustees continued their office beyond the appointment of their employers, they might render their power perpetual, and cease to depend on those employers; that so long a duration would afford to ministers an opportunity of systematising corruption, and establishing by its means an influence over the legislature, which might render that body merely instrumental in the hands of the executive government; that the will of the king and minister would be the sole rule of legislative as well as executorial conduct; that the power of the crown would, through the whigs, be rendered really much greater than the tories had ever wished to establish or support.

Growth of ministerial influence.

It is certain, that ministerial influence in this reign, whether from the long continuance of parliament, or other causes, became much greater than at any former time. Corruption had been carried to a considerable length by the whigs, in the time of Queen Anne, on particular occasions: but it was reserved for Walpole to establish it as a methodical and regular engine of government; and to bribe in a dextrous and circuitous manner, which might not only escape detection, but in some degree even impose on the receiver, and which might make him suppose that to be the reward of merit from his country, which was really the wages of service to a minister. Closely connected with stock-jobbers, and other adventurers, in projects for the acquisition of money, Walpole found, through loans and similar government transactions, various opportunities of bestowing indirect donatives. Nor was he sparing in direct presents. He appears to have been the first minister who thoroughly understood the mode of managing parliaments, and making lawgivers willing tools in the hands of the court. He first completely succeeded in identifying, according to the apprehension of the majority, compliance with ministers, and patriotism; opposition to ministers,

Walpole.

ters, and disaffection to the constitution. George's reign is an epoch in parliamentary history, as, since that time, whether ministers have been able or weak, wise or foolish, they have rarely failed to have the co-operation of parliament in their projects, whether useful or hurtful. The influence of the crown was established on the most solid basis by the whig party, and the whig leader, Sir Robert Walpole.

Relation of Britain to foreign powers.

THE relative state of Britain and foreign powers, did not require from this country any great efforts. Louis XIV. after for sixty years disturbing the tranquillity of Europe, was at length dead. During the minority of his successor, the regent of France, fortunately for his country, from private and personal ambition, cultivated amity and intercourse with England, in hopes that should the young king die, Britain might assist him in succeeding to the throne, in exclusion of the still more nearly related Philip Bourbon of Spain. These selfish views long cherished peace and alliance between the two chief powers of the world. France being pacific, none of the other nations could afford any serious ground of alarm. The menaces of Charles XII. or the displeasure of the czar of Muscovy, excited little apprehension. The repeated attempts of Spain to promote the claims of the Pretender, and to disturb the peace of Britain, unassisted by France, were easily crushed or prevented. A signal defeat at sea effectually convinced the Spanish king of his impolicy in provoking the attack of an English fleet.

Peace between France and Britain, the interest of both.

The harmony which prevailed between France and George I. though arising from temporary coincidence of views in his majesty and the French regent, rather than from an enlarged comprehension of solid and permanent interests, was beneficial to both parties; by allowing the two countries in tranquillity to recover from the evils of the dreadful wars which had occupied the two preceding reigns, it manifested to both, that sound policy dictated agreement, and not dis-

cord, to the two first kingdoms of the universe. The king, in his negociations and engagements with France and with other powers, intended to strengthen the security of the protestant succession: that was the chief object of the greater number of the treaties in which his history so very much abounds. Large and numerous subsidies were paid to purchase assistance, or to buy off apprehended and threatened hostility.[h]

THE party in opposition to ministers asserted, that as the various attempts made in favour of the Pretender, had been crushed by British patriotism and energy, the recourse to foreign assistance was totally unnecessary. Experience had shewn, that a great majority of the people was disposed and able to support the constitutional establishment. While British subjects were attached to their sovereign, he wanted no foreign props to his throne.

King's partiality for his native dominions.

IT was extremely natural for his majesty to retain a partiality for his native country, and under that partiality to blend and identify interests that certainly had no real connexion. Some of the treaties concluded, and subsidies paid by Great Britain, were, on very probable grounds, alleged to be employed in promoting the advantage of Hanover, without affording the smallest benefit to this country. The balance of power in the two former reigns, so necessary an object of attention, and so wise a ground of confederacy, though under George I. it produced a multiplicity and variety of alliances, yet really, while France remained quiet, appears to have been in no danger.[i] The foreign policy, however, of the first George, though perhaps too minute and busy in detail, was, on the whole, fitted to maintain the rank and respectability of his kingdoms among

[h] See the treaty concluded with the king of Sweden, in 1717.

[i] It was upon the anxiety of the British government about the relative strength of its neighbours, that the Author of the History of John Bull introduces his hero as keeping a pair of steelyards to weigh his neighbours.

the continental powers. If Britain in his time did not rise in dignity, at least she did not fall.

THE connexion between the whigs and the monied interest, produced acts and consequences that make a memorable part of this reign. Commerce had opened the way to riches; riches acquired, stimulated accumulation; or contemplated, excited enterprise and adventure. The gains of merchandise are commonly progressive. The high interest paid, or the donatives granted by government on loans, enabled many individuals to acquire fortunes much more rapidly than trade could admit. The fluctuating credit of the national funds opened a source of hazardous gains, by dealing in stock; or, to use the appropriate term, stock-jobbing. This kind of traffic, that had been rising in frequency as the national debt increased, was become extremely prevalent, and was indeed very much encouraged by the successive ministers of George; who seeing that jobbing kept up the price of the stocks, considered it as a very beneficial practice. There seemed, indeed, to be a kind of enthusiasm of avarice throughout maritime and commercial Europe at this time, no less violent than the religious or political enthusiasm of other periods. Money was the supreme object of their thoughts; they considered projects of new banks; new schemes of administering or employing established funds; and new modes of traffic, as the means of miraculous accumulation.[k] On the phrenzy of covetousness which impeded the use of sound reason, and generated the most visionary fancies, the deep and designing villany of ministerial projectors contrived the famous South-sea bubble, that burst with such destruction to its deluded votaries. Notwithstanding the ruin which overwhelmed so many from this speculation, there

An enthusiasm of avarice pervades commercial Europe;

and stimulates its votaries to ruinous adventures.

South-sea bubble.

[k] Besides the famous South-sea scheme, there was the Mississippi plan of Mr. Law, and numberless others on the same visionary principle, though less extensive in influence and importance.

continued a strong propensity to wild and fanciful adventures, for many years afterwards. Stock-jobbing very naturally promotes other species of gaming[l], either to increase its gains, or compensate its losses. Gambling became much more frequent than it had been in former times.

THE liberal principles and sentiments of the whigs, extending toleration to the various sects of religionists, continued hateful to the high-church; nor were the whigs behind in enmity; their aversion to bigotry carried them into the opposite extreme.

Religious infidelity.

Many of them are justly chargeable with infidelity; and their leading politicians, if not unbelievers, were indifferent about religion, and great patrons of infidels. The court, in general, was very lukewarm in religious matters. With the minister, himself, his supporters and favourites, articles of faith, the church, and clergy, were most frequent and acceptable subjects of merriment and raillery. Impiety was extremely fashionable in the various gradations of society, to which the court example did not fail to reach. Corresponding to such a state of religion, there was great laxity of manners. To this evil, the conduct of the court had its share in contributing. George, though by no means profligate in his own character, yet tended to encourage licentious gallantry: according to the mode of debauched courts on the continent, the king's mistresses made their appearance regularly among the nobility[m], were visited by women of the highest rank and fashion, and even introduced to the young princesses his grand-daughters. The minister, and all who possessed or sought favour, paid a most submissive attention to the royal favourites. Where such persons presided, modesty and chastity could not be expected greatly to prevail. Decency and morality were by no means characteristics of George's court.

Immorality

[l] See Life of Budget, in Bisset's edition of the Spectator.

[m] See Lord Orford's Reminiscences.

THIS

THIS reign was favourable to commerce and finance, especially after the appointment of Walpole to be prime minister. The policy of this statesman, constantly and steadily pacific, was, by that single but momentous quality, conducive to private and public opulence. Raised to office immediately after the failure of the South-sea scheme, he studiously and earnestly endeavoured to repair the mischiefs produced by that celebrated fraud, and was successful in his efforts. Having settled the business of the South-sea, and restored public credit, he directed his attention to manufactures and trade, and shewed that his views were both liberal and extensive. He found the foreign trade shackled with numerous petty duties and impoverishing taxes, which obstructed the exportation of our manufactures, and lessened the importation of the most necessary commodities. He framed the beneficial plan of abolishing all these restrictions, and giving freedom to the most valuable branches of our external and internal commerce.[n] At his instance, a bill was passed for that purpose. By his persuasion also, a law was enacted for encouraging the importation of naval stores from North America. Since these commodities were necessary for the navy, he thought it much wiser to be supplied from our own plantations, especially as we could be furnished at a cheaper rate, and as our colonies took our own manufactures in exchange. Besides, should England be at war with Russia, that source of naval stores might be closed; by Walpole's regulation, another was opened. The promotion of commerce was one great object of his pacific dispositions: he was very averse to hostilities with Spain when threatened in 1726, through the unnatural union between Philip and the emperor. The commerce with Spain was very extensive and important to Great Britain. Such a

Advances of commerce and prosperity under George.

Liberal policy of Walpole.

[n] See Cox's Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, part i. p. 164.

His views of colonies.

source of revenue and riches he was unwilling to obstruct by precipitate war. His views of the benefits arising from our foreign settlements, just and sound, presented a lesson of colonial policy, which it would have been fortunate for Britain if his successors had always followed. A speculative projector having proposed, that the American plantations should be subject to taxes, Walpole, with a discriminating and comprehensive idea of their real utility, saw that without impost, by their industry and prosperity, they were rapidly promoting the private wealth and public revenue of Britain, and totally rejected the advice.

In the contests between king George and his son the prince of Wales, Walpole, though he could not avoid giving some umbrage to the heir-apparent, yet impressed both him and his princess Caroline with a very high opinion of his political talents. When, on the king's death, George II. ascended the throne, Walpole was continued in his office, because their majesties [o] thought no other person could be found so well qualified for directing the helm of public affairs.

George II.

George II., a prince of upright intentions and the strictest honour, but of moderate talents, and inferior to his father in force of understanding,

adopts the internal and foreign policy of his father.

adopted his political notions and prejudices; considered the whigs as the only subjects to be trusted; entertained groundless alarms of the designs of the jacobites; and renewed or formed numerous alliances for securing the protestant succession.[p] He was anxiously and incessantly busy with engagements and projects for preserving the balance of power,

[o] From Lord Orford's Reminiscences, it appears that the king intended to chuse a new minister; but that the queen, greatly his superior in abilities, and who governed his majesty, though she appeared to be implicitly submissive to him, induced him to continue Walpole in office.

[p] The Prince of Hesse, the Duke of Wolfenbuttle, and other petty princes of Germany, gravely undertook to guarantee the throne of Britain, and received subsidies for their notable services! See Smollet, passim; see also the comments of the Craftsman; and Fog's Journal.

and

and very partial to the interest of his German dominions. The minister, adhering to his pacific plans, gratified his master by promoting German alliances and subsidies, but prevented the nation from being embroiled in war. Some of his treaties were deemed very impolitic, especially the treaty of Seville, by which Britain introduced a branch of the house of Bourbon into Italy, and depressed the house of Austria, the natural ally of England.

SKILFUL as he was in forming productive schemes of finance, Walpole's public economy was by no means equal to his invention or discovery of pecuniary resources. There was, indeed, a profuse waste of the national treasures. Trade had greatly increased, and many new taxes had been imposed; yet in so long a period of profound peace, which underwent no material interruption from the treaty of Utrecht to the commencement of the war 1739, the whole sum paid off was no more than 8,328,354*l.* 17*s.* 11$\frac{3}{4}$*d.* and the capital of the public debt at that time amounted to 46,954,623*l.* 3*s.* 4$\frac{1}{2}$*d.* A great source of expenditure was what the minister called secret-service money, by which he professed to mean sums required for discovering the secret intentions of neighbouring powers. This fund, according to the minister's account, was extremely useful in enabling him to discover and disconcert the wicked projects of jacobites, and their friends, in foreign countries. Another great source of expence, the subsidies to German principalities for watching over the safety, interest, and established government of Great Britain, was also, by the minister's account, to be reckoned a premium paid for insuring the kingdom against jacobites. The balance of power also had its share in exacting subsidies from England. The British statesmen of that time, indeed, appear to have considered the maintenance of an equipoise, as the supreme and constant END of our foreign politics, instead of *a means* sometimes necessary for the

Expence of subsidiary treaties.

the security of Britain, and only when necessary, wisely employing British efforts. Although by the act of settlement it was provided, that Britain should not be involved in any engagements on account of Hanover, yet various treaties and stipulations were made, by which expence was incurred by these realms on account of that electorate. The protestant succession, and balance of power, were also ministerial reasons for the regular and constant maintenance of a much greater number of troops within the kingdom, than the apparent state of internal tranquillity and foreign politics rendered necessary. Cardinal Fleury, as pacifically disposed as the British minister, and having unlimited control over the weak and incapable Louis XV., cultivated a friendly intercourse with England. The emperor found it his interest to resume his connexions with Great Britain, in order to secure the pragmatic sanction, by which his hereditary dominions were guaranteed to his daughter, his only issue. Spain interfering with certain parts of our trade on coasts to which she pretended an exclusive right, employed no efforts which a naval force, vigilantly exerted and judiciously stationed, might not have prevented. Other states were either too inconsiderable, or too remote, to give any alarm to Great Britain, or to render any unusual military exertions necessary. The taxes required by the minister for defraying expences, deemed by a considerable part of the nation useless, were felt as severe grievances. The regular and increasing pressure, however, caused much less displeasure and alarm, than one of the modes proposed for levying the imposts; this scheme of establishing an excise on wine and tobacco, though if the assessments were at all necessary, as productive, and as little burdensome[1] a means of collection, as could be adopted in such subjects of revenue; yet, from party ardour and misrepresentation, combined with the

High taxes notwithstanding the long peace.

[1] See Wealth of Nations, vol. iii. p. 358.

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interest of smuggling merchants, raised such a clamour as would have driven him from his office, unless he had abandoned his proposition.

State of parties.

The opponents of his administration, or any of his counsels, the minister affected to consider as enemies of the state; and succeeded in impressing that opinion on many patriotic and loyal subjects, and also on the king himself, who, possessing honest intentions and not great sagacity of understanding, was credulous and easily duped by the professions of those whom he regarded as his friends. The ability of Walpole did not only convince the king, that the adversaries of the minister were the enemies of the house of Hanover, and of the protestant succession, but even imprinted the same notion on the superior penetration of the queen. Caroline, indeed, as is now well known, was the chief supporter of Walpole, as she was the supreme director of his majesty.[r] But, with the address of a stronger mind governing by influence a weaker, she cautiously concealed from the king himself her power over his public measures. Walpole established with the court-party the following doctrine: "Whoever opposes this whig administration is a tory; all tories are jacobites; every one, therefore, that opposes the minister, is a jacobite." So much is the generality of mankind governed by words instead of precise ideas, that many expressed their approbation of secret-service money, foreign subsidies, the increase of the army, and frequent suspension of the *habeas corpus*, to demonstrate that they were not jacobites. The minister, indeed, was supported by the principal whig families, by those who, styling themselves the whig connection, have professed to think that they, and they only, supported the principles of constitutional liberty, and the protestant succession; and, therefore, that they only ought to be entrusted with the administration

Whig connection.

[r] See Lord Orford's Reminiscence, and Coxe's Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, passim.

of

of affairs under the house of Hanover. This combination was strengthened and consolidated by domestic affinities. The great whig houses, by an extensive chain of inter-marriages, formed a kind of family-compact, subservient to their political schemes for governing the state. Walpole held his office by various tenures: his own abilities, and his declared attachment to whig principles and the protestant succession; his efforts for keeping out the Pretender, and supporting the monied interest; for extending commerce, and improving revenue, and maintaining the balance of power: he was farther strengthened by the whig junto, guided by his talents and address; the high opinion and attachment of the king and queen, and the conviction of both that his counsels chiefly and most effectually secured them on the throne. He rivetted the confidence of George, by the zealous promotion of his electoral and subsidising projects. He possessed many personal friends, whom he had attached to himself by his conduct, the apparent openness and familiar ease of his manners, by accumulated benefits, and especially by a liberal and judicious distribution of secret-service money. He had also, through the last-mentioned means, a very numerous body of supporters in LITERARY MEN, at least in *writers*, who, in various departments of composition, historical[s], political, theological, in lyric and dramatic poetry[t], praised the ministerial plans, and vilified the opponents of government. Perhaps, indeed, in the history of literature, never had so many pens been employed in panegyrising a court or ministry, as while Sir Robert Walpole directed the helm of affairs.

Walpole's literary supporters.

WITH such intrinsic and extrinsic power, Walpole continued longer in office[u], than any minister since

[s] Tindal, Oldmixon, &c.

[t] Eusden, Cibber, &c. Of pamphlets, periodical journals, and political sermons, there was a vast multiplicity of writers.

[u] From his second appointment in 1720, to his dismission in 1741,

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the Cecil of Elizabeth. In all that time, he had experienced great opposition, and uniformly resisted attacks with an ability and address that very dexterously adapted themselves to the changing nature and mode of political enmity which he had to encounter. Though the minister endeavoured to represent the opposer of his schemes as the supporter of the Pretender, he very thoroughly knew that the greater number were not friends to the house of Stuart. The adversaries of Walpole consisted of different, and indeed heterogeneous, classes of political men. First, there were discontented whigs, who disapproved of his measures, and repined at the preference given to Sir Robert Walpole over themselves: secondly, the tories, who were displeased at the exclusive promotion of the whigs, but not inimical to the house of Hanover: and thirdly, the jacobites. Though these last were unfriendly to the family on the throne, many of them contented themselves with wishes, and appeared nowise disposed to hazard their own lives and fortunes in order to elevate the Pretender to the throne. They adhered to the tories, in hopes with them to foment and increase national discontent. Expectations had arisen on different occasions, that the minister's downfal approached: the tories and the opposition whigs respectively hoped to succeed, but both were disappointed. The splendid genius of Bolingbroke, now pardoned and returned from exile, animated and directed the tories; while the acute and strong understanding, brilliant wit, vigorous and impressive eloquence of Pulteney, headed the disaffected whigs. Different as these two classes were in abstract political opinion, yet they concurred in present object and proximate motive: they both desired to overthrow the minister. The jacobites were no less desirous of the dismission of the whig connection, and Walpole individually. A coalition was now deemed expedient: and the anti-ministerialists, with Bolingbroke

Opposition to Walpole.

Bolingbroke.

Pulteney.

broke and Pulteney at their head, became one united body; the former being the chief framer of their schemes, the latter the most active and efficient agent in parliament. Their plan of operations was, by the union of parliamentary and literary talents and their combined influence, first to sap, and then destroy the power of Walpole. In the execution of their plan, they set on foot the celebrated Craftsman, which, with great and comprehensive ability, viewed the various causes of discontent, and, with versatile ingenuity, adapted itself to the numerous classes of the discontented. This paper attracted high-churchmen, by ridiculing and satirising low-churchmen, whig bishops, and particularly Hoadley. Reprobating the impolicy and iniquity of continental alliances and subsidies; secret-service money, taxes, and stock-jobbing; the mischiefs that arose from a funding-system, the anticipation of future industry, and the immense mass of corruption which ministers had established through the command of so much national treasure; and the evils of the South Sea scheme, cotemporary and subsequent bubbles, all which originated in the national debt; it gratified the tories. To please the jacobites, it exposed the expensive inconvenience and uselessness of engagements incurred by Britain for the sake of Hanover; and exhibited the present government as in its conduct totally opposite to the principles and stipulations of the act of settlement. To the whigs it appealed, upon their own genuine and original doctrines and sentiments. The present administration had, by unexampled corruption, established an influence more despotical, than the power which the most tyrannical of the Stuarts ever sought. Through corrupt legislators, the influence of the crown invaded our property by exorbitant taxes, totally unnecessary for the security of the country, and employed the money, either for bribery, the increase of a standing army, or some other means of giving efficacy

The Craftsman.

efficacy to ministry, at the expence of British liberty and property. The promoters of boundless kingly power, by whatever means, direct or indirect, must be vigorously opposed by every real whig: the supporters of ministry were only nominal and pretended whigs, whose great object it was to extend the influence of the executive government. These varied reasons, addressed to different political classes, the ablest men of opposition, both in parliament and the Craftsman, as well as in subordinate publications, adapted to particular subjects, occasions, and circumstances. Accommodating their strictures to the political diversities of Englishmen, they spoke also to principles in which they were very generally agreed. They addressed their mercantile and warlike spirit; they inveighed against the depredations of the Spaniards, as injurious to our national interest; and our long and tame sufferance of these, as incompatible with national honour. At last they succeeded in driving the nation to war with Spain, and compelling Walpole to retire from the administration of British affairs.

War with Spain.

THAT dexterous politician, knowing the nation to be incensed against him, when he saw that it would be impossible for him any longer to retain his office, found means to secure an indemnity and a peerage; to divide the party that had exerted itself so long, eagerly, and strenuously, against his measures; and to form a coalition with a considerable body of his adversaries. By this means he insured the undisturbed enjoyment of his riches and honours. The people thought themselves betrayed by the late declaimers against ministerial corruption; and in their resentment toward those whom they branded as apostates from patriotism, forgot their rage against Sir Robert Walpole. The administration that was now formed consisted chiefly of whigs, with some tory converts. They engaged warmly in continental politics, and, in a great degree, merely to

Walpole resigns.

to gratify his majesty's electoral prepossessions, involved the nation in war much farther than was necessary for the security of Britain.[x] They encouraged treaties and subsidies for purposes totally useless to the country, though requiring immense sums of British money; and they supported the introduction of foreign mercenaries for guarding and defending England.

Continental affairs.

FRANCE having, by long peace and prosperous commerce, repaired the strength that had been exhausted by the splendid but infatuated ambition of Louis XIV., resumed her usual character, and disturbed the tranquillity of the continent. The death of the emperor afforded her a favourable opportunity of interfering in the affairs of Germany; and, notwithstanding her accession to the pragmatic sanction, of endeavouring to wrest possessions from the queen of Hungary. The critical situation of the house of Austria rendered it expedient for Great Britain to employ a considerable force to prevent Maria Teresa from being overpowered. From the loyal and patriotic zeal of her gallant subjects, together with the contributions of Great Britain, the Austrian dominions were soon delivered from the impending danger. Thus far impartial politicians approved of British interference; but when vast sums of money were expended for adjusting disputes in the north of Germany, by which it was impossible the interest of Britain could be either directly or indirectly affected, very great discontents arose. Under the pressure of enormous taxes, the people grievously complained, that a great portion of the fruits of their industry were employed to promote the interests of Hanover, and afforded the contributors no advantage in return for their contributions. In the ardour of continental projects, the British government bestowed very inadequate attention on

British interference in German politics.

[x] See Smollet, vol. iii. chap. 7. passim.

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the chief bulwark of British power. Our commerce was much more annoyed than at any former period, even while we had to contend with Spain only as principal. France having soon without provocation taken a part in the war, our trade was extremely distressed. The merchants loudly complained that their interests were neglected, and joined in an outcry against the electoral prepossessions of the king, to which they said our commerce and navy were sacrificed. The employment at this time of a great body of Hanoverian troops within this island, added to the dissatisfaction of the nation; and the Hanoverians became extremely unpopular. The jacobites, seeing the prevailing sentiment, earnestly promoted the discontent; but conceived it to be much greater than it eventually proved. They exaggerated the displeasure which was excited by the king's supposed preference of Hanoverian to British interest, and construed it into a dislike of the house of Hanover, in hopes that the dissatisfaction might pave the way for the re-establishment of the house of Stuart on the British throne. Foreign powers conceived the same idea, and France attempted an invasion. The naval force of England, however, began now to be better directed, and easily crushed every open attempt of the enemy.

1744. Hostilities with France.

THE arrival of the young pretender the following year, proved that loyalty and patriotism in British hearts, when the king and country are attacked, absorb all partial discontents. The young adventurer, supported by a strong band of heroic though misguided votaries[y], found that every attempt was and would be unavailing, to ascend a throne which was confirmed to another by the free choice and interest of the people. Common danger abolished all distinctions: whigs and tories, churchmen and dissenters, united against an inroad which threatened

1745. Attempt of the young Pretender,

unites all parties in supporting the king and constitution.

[y] See Home's History of the Rebellion in 1745.

the subversion of the constitution and the plunder of property. Government experienced from the funded system one of the chief political advantages which its first authors had predicted. The great numbers who were interested in supporting national credit, vigorously exerted themselves to support the cause with which they considered private and public prosperity as identified. In opposing rebellion, and supporting their lawful and constitutional king, they knew and felt they were supporting their liberty, their property, their families, and themselves. The rebellion in 1745 proved a most favourable crisis to the house of Hanover. It marked the difference between disapprobation of certain measures of his majesty or his ministers, and disaffection to the title and government of the house of Brunswick. Britons saw, regretted, and censured the king's predilection for his German territories, and the expence and trouble in which they involved this country; but they discerned that this was only a temporary inconvenience, arising from George II. individually, as it had from his father, but not likely to descend to future representatives of the family of Hanover. The reigning king was not only born in Hanover, but educated there in all the notions and sentiments of the country, and had never left it until he passed his thirtieth year; a period at which the characters of men are formed, matured, and ascertained. It was therefore natural for George to cherish Hanover, once the only object of his expected inheritance, and to attend to its interests much more than was wise and politic in a king of Great Britain. The whigs, whom he had long considered as the props of his kingly power, and who had, from the time of William, been favourable to continental connexions, readily coincided in his electoral projects, and encouraged his costly scheme of subsidising foreign states to fight their own battles, or the battles of other powers whose suc-

Natural for George II. to be partial to the whigs.

cess was not necessary to the security of Britain. Frederick prince of Wales, heir of the crown, was a child [a] when his grandfather ascended the throne of Britain. Having early imbibed English ideas, he was inimical to such a multiplicity of continental engagements and expensive subsidies, and averse to that policy of his father and grandfather which conferred offices of high trust on one party exclusively. Hence it was expected that when providence should call him to the throne, he would be less partial to his Hanoverian dominions, and less disposed to an interference in German politics. The prince had a numerous family, who, being all natives of England, were brought up from their infancy in the opinions and sentiments of Englishmen. Eminent for domestic virtues, his highness and his princess directed their chief attention to the tuition of their children, and especially to initiate their heir in the opinions, principles, sentiments, and dispositions, befitting a personage destined to be sovereign of Great Britain. The rebellion also demonstrated that the house of Brunswick was not supported by a party only, but by the British nation; and probably added strength to the former conviction of the heir of the crown, that a king placed on the throne of Britain should rule for all his subjects, and chuse servants according to merit, and not party-creeds; and confirmed his determination to infuse the same doctrine into his eldest son.

Frederick Prince of Wales,

resolves to employ talents and merit without respect of party,

and instils his sentiments into prince George.

THE measures speedily adopted for preventing future rebellion, effected a most important and happy change in the northern part of the united kingdom. The overthrow of aristocratical tyranny in the abolition of hereditary jurisdictions, established law and order, extended constitutional liberty, secured property, stimulated industry, and contributed powerfully to civilize the Highlanders,

Improvement of Scotland.

[a] He was born January 1707; and was in the eighth year of his age at the accession, Aug. 1st, 1714.

and turn to beneficial efforts that bold energy of character, which had hitherto been chiefly exerted in depredations, feuds, and insurrections. So strongly exhibiting the striking and prominent virtues, the intrepid courage, the indefatigable activity, the invincible hardiness, the unshaken fidelity [a], and ardent attachments of those generous mountaineers, actuated by a mistaken principle, pointed them out, when they should be better informed and more fortunately guided, as powerful contributors to the benefit, honour, and glory of Britain.[b]

In her continental exertions, Britain in this tedious war displayed her usual courage, and incurred enormous expence, without accomplishing any purpose tending to compensate her profusion of blood and treasure. Her bravest soldiers, betrayed and deserted by faithless allies, were far out-numbered by their enemies; but, though frequently worsted, they never received a complete and decisive defeat.[c]

On their own element, Britons, totally unencumbered with allies, could exert and direct their most valuable force; and although, by the remissness of ministers, and the negligence, incapacity, or quarrels of commanders, they performed few brilliant or important exploits in the first years of the war; yet through the remainder, they were

[a] Never did this quality appear more conspicuously eminent and honourable, than in the escape of the unfortunate Chevalier; which we cannot better mark than in the words of Smollet: "He (Charles Stuart) was obliged to trust his life to the fidelity of above fifty individuals, and many of these were in the lowest paths of fortune. They knew that a price of thirty thousand pounds was set upon his head; and that, by betraying him, they should enjoy wealth and affluence: but they detested the thought of obtaining riches on such infamous terms; and ministered to his necessities with the utmost zeal and fidelity, even at the hazard of their own destruction." Vol. iii. p. 184.

[b] As various Highland chieftains were at this time favourable to king George, their respective clans rendered important services in the course of the rebellion. Selected companies had been already formed into a regular corps; and at Fontenoy, where they first saw an enemy, the forty-second regiment began the tenour of heroism, which through four successive wars they have so uniformly and illustriously displayed, from Fontenoy to Alexandria.

[c] Even at Fontenoy, the French killed and wounded considerably exceeded the number of the British; and our army was able to make an orderly retreat, without the loss of their camp. See Smollet, vol. iii. p. 150.

victorious

victorious in every quarter, and shewed the house of Bourbon, how vain and pernicious to themselves were their attempts to cope with the navy of England.

Peace of Aix la Chapelle.

THE peace of Aix la Chapelle, concluded on the general principle of reciprocal restitution, without any indemnification to either party for the immense expence and severe losses which the belligerent powers respectively incurred, demonstrated that the two principal contributors, France and England, had grievously suffered by the contest. To the national debt of England, a war of nine years had added 31,338,689*l.* 18*s.* 6½*d.*[d]; so that the whole debt at this time amounted to 78,293,313*l.* 1*s.* 10¾*d.* The addition to French debt, no less considerable, tended to prove, that a war producing such an incumbrance, besides the interruption of commerce and bringing no equivalent, was extremely hurtful to both parties, to the aggressor as much as the defender.

War between England and France, pernicious to both.

THE commercial genius of England rose superior to all interruptions and disadvantages from her political plans. During the last five years of the war, trade had made extraordinary advances; money poured into the kingdom, and private enterprise and public credit rose to an unprecedented height. Mr. Pelham, now chief minister, possessing great industry and financial skill, very zealously and successfully promoted the extension of national credit and commerce. Aware of the benefits resulting to Britain from trade with Spain, he cultivated an amicable and close intercourse with that country. He encouraged fisheries, manufactures, and colonization[e], the benefits of which have ever since been felt. But the measure by which his administration is principally distinguished, was the reduction of the public interest, with the consent and approbation of the creditors,

Mr. Pelham.

Rapid increase of commerce and prosperity from the blessings of peace.

[d] See James Postlethwaite's History of the Public Revenue.
[e] See Smollet, vol. iii. from p. 234 to 318.

ditors, from four to three per cent. His scheme for this purpose, which would have been totally impracticable unless commerce had been flourishing, money abounding, and the funds very high, was executed with great ease and popularity. The greater number of creditors, having the option of being paid the principal or lowering the interest, chose the latter alternative. Mr. Pelham, indeed, though not distinguished for force or brilliancy of genius, was upright in intention, and indefatigable in application, always directing his understanding to subjects and exertions within the compass of his abilities. Though bred up in party notions, being candid and moderate, he employed co-adjutors and agents without regard to their political party, and was one of the most useful ministers that ever improved the blessings of peace to an industrious and commercial people. This peace, however, was destined to be but of short continuance; for Europe was soon engaged in a war, more general and extensive than any in which it had ever before been involved.

The origin, proximate causes, principles, plans, events, and results of this war, to the accession of George III., with the state in which they placed Britain, are particularly detailed in the First Chapter of this History.

HISTORY

OF THE

REIGN OF GEORGE III.

CHAP. I.

Rise, Progress, Operations, and Results of the War 1756, *to the Accession of George III.*

CHAP. I.

A LIBERAL and expanded policy would have suggested to France, which experienced so little advantage from her wars and ambition, the wisdom of permanent peace. She might thus have cultivated the arts of which her country was so susceptible, and by an intercourse with England, might have improved her commerce and her naval skill. She might have raised herself by industry and beneficial enterprise, instead of seeking to humble her neighbours by efforts at once ineffectual against their object and ruinous to herself. But if she did prefer aggression and war to peace and prosperity, she might have learned from awful experience that her success had arisen, and must arise, from continental effort, in which she might be and was superior to any power; instead of maritime effort, in which she was and must be inferior to one power.

Schemes of France against the British colonies.

ANOTHER scheme of policy remained; which was to direct her chief attention to commerce and navigation, in order to rival and surpass England. She saw that colonial establishments very extensively and

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powerfully promoted our commercial and naval pre-eminence. Her statesmen, confounding effect with cause, supposed our prosperity to have arisen from our plantations: whereas those flourishing settlements, with many other constituents of opulence and power, were really results from skilful industry, acquiring capital under fostering freedom, and thus rapidly increasing and extending its power of operation. They concluded, that the effectual means of out-rivalling Britain, was to reduce her colonial possessions. This object count de Maurepas the French minister proposed; and for this purpose formed a plan, which, ever since the peace of Aix la Chapelle, operated in various parts of the world, but first and chiefly in North America.

North America.

DURING the seventeenth century neither France nor England was sufficiently acquainted with the geography of America, to ascertain with precision the limits of their respective claims. In treaties[a] between the two crowns, after general stipulations to abstain from encroachment, the adjustment of bounds had been entrusted to commissioners. Even at the peace of Aix la Chapelle, the American limits were still left to be settled as before, and thus a ground remained open for future contention. Though the line of demarcation had never yet been ascertained on the frontiers of British America, yet, rapidly flourishing on the coasts, the colonists sought a new source of wealth from the remotely interior country. They cultivated the Indian trade, for which their navigable lakes and rivers opened an easy and expeditious conveyance. Extending to the west of the Allegany mountains, our planters conceived that we had a right to navigate the Mississippi, opening another communication between English America and the ocean. With these views, a company of merchants and planters obtained a

[a] See the treaties of Rhyswick and Utrecht.

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considerable tract of land near the river Ohio[b], but within the province of Virginia; and were established by a charter, under the name of the Ohio Company, with the exclusive privilege of trading to that river. This was a measure by no means agreeable to the court of Versailles: the French had projected an engrossment of the whole fur trade of the American continent, and had already made considerable progress, by extending a chain of forts from the Mississippi, along the lakes Erie and Ontario, to Canada and St. Lawrence. Incensed at the interference of the English in a traffic which his countrymen purposed to monopolize, the governor of Quebec wrote letters to the governors of New York and Pennsylvania, informing them, that as the English inland-traders had encroached on the French territories and privileges, by trading with the Indians under the protection of his sovereign, he would seize them wherever they could be found, if they did not immediately desist from that illicit practice.[c] A denunciation of punishment for the infringement of an alleged right, neither admitted nor proved, met with no attention from the English governors. The Frenchman, finding his complaints disregarded, next year ordered three of the British traders to be seized and carried to Quebec. He confiscated the goods of the accused, and sent the men to Rochelle in France, where they were detained in confinement. The earl of Albemarle, ambassador at Versailles, remonstrated to the French ministry on the unjust confinement of British subjects, and procured their release, with promises from the French ministry, that no grounds of complaint should be suffered to continue; but the insincerity of those professions was soon manifested by the conduct of their servants, which was afterwards com-

1752. Encroachments of France.

1753.

[b] So far back as 1716, the governor of Virginia had formed a project of a mercantile company to be established on the Ohio; but the relative politics of George I. and the Duke of Orleans, prevented the king from granting a charter.

[c] See Smollet, vol. iii. p. 376.

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1753.

mended and justified by the court. Meanwhile the French, pursuing their plan of encroachment, built forts on the territories of Indian tribes in alliance with Britain, at Niagara, on lake Erie, in the back-settlements of New York and Pennsylvania. The governor of Virginia, informed of these depredations, sent major George Washington, since so illustrious, with a letter to the commandant of a French fort recently built within the confines of his province. The encroachments, he said, were contrary to the law of nations, repugnant to existing treaties between the two crowns, and injurious to the interests of British subjects. He asked by whose authority the territories of his Britannic majesty were invaded, and required that he should evacuate the country, and not farther disturb the harmony which his sovereign wished to subsist between himself and the French king. The French commandant replied, that it did not belong to him to discuss the right of his master to the territories in question; that he commanded the fort by order of his general the marquis Du Quesne; that he would transmit the letter to him, act according to his directions, and maintain the fort, unless commanded by his general to relinquish possession. The English governor now projected a fort to be built on the Riviere Aubeuf, in the neighbourhood of that which the French had recently erected; and the Virginians undertook to provide the stores, and defray the expence.

In more northern parts of British America, the same schemes of encroachment were carried on, with a consistency of design, and perseverance in execution, which evinced that both emanated from one uniform and vigorous plan.

Settlement of Nova Scotia.

At the peace of Utrecht, Acadia had been ceded by the French to the English; but before the peace of Aix la Chapelle it had turned to very little account. During the administration of Mr. Pelham,

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so auspicious to commerce and revenue, a scheme was formed for rendering this province a beneficial acquisition. An establishment was proposed, which should clear the improveable grounds, constitute communities, diffuse the benefits of population and agriculture, and promote navigation and the fishery. The design having been approved by his majesty, the earl of Halifax, a nobleman of good understanding and liberal sentiments, and at that time president of the board of trade, was entrusted with the execution. Officers and private men, dismissed from the land and sea service, were invited by offers of ground in different proportions, according to their rank, with additional considerations according to the number and increase of their families. A civil government was established, under which they were to enjoy the liberties and privileges of British subjects. The settlers were to be conveyed to the place of destination, and maintained for a year at the expence of government. From the same source they were to be supplied with arms and ammunition for defence, as well as with materials and utensils for agriculture, fishery, and other means of subsistence. In May 1749, the adventurers set sail from England, and in the latter end of June arrived at the harbour of Chebucto. This port is at once secure and commodious; it has a communication with most parts of the province, either by land carriage, navigable rivers, or the sea, and is peculiarly well situated for fishery. Here governor Cornwallis pitched on a spot for a settlement, and laid the foundation of a town, the building of which he commenced on a regular plan, and gave it the name of Halifax, in honour of its noble patron.

CHAP. I. 1753.

The actual advantage to accrue from the colonization of Nova Scotia, which must be contingent or at least distant, appears to have had less share in inducing Britain to make the establishment, than the desire of securing it from being repossessed by the French;

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French; as they, if again masters of the country, might very much annoy the more southern colonies, which were then rapidly flourishing. The French, regarding the new colony with jealousy and displeasure, as promoting the advantage of Britain, and counteracting their own views, did not themselves at first disturb the new settlers, but instigated the Indians to give them every annoyance.

1753. Jealousy of the French.

When Halifax was built, the Indians were spirited to commit hostilities against the inhabitants, some of whom they murdered, and others they carried prisoners to Louisburg, where they sold them for arms and ammunition. The French pretended that they maintained this traffic from motives of pure compassion, in order to prevent the massacre of the English captives; whom, however, they did not set at liberty, without exacting an enormous price. These marauders, it was found, were generally headed by French commanders. When complaints were made to the governor of Louisburg, he answered, that these Indians were not within his jurisdiction.

The commissioners appointed to ascertain the limits of the two powers met repeatedly; but the pretensions of the French were so exorbitant, and so totally inconsistent with the letter and spirit of treaties, and the generally understood description of the countries, that they plainly perceived that every attempt to establish amicably a fair demarcation would be vain.[d] The governor of Canada detached an officer with a party of men to fortify a post in the bay of Chenecto, within the English Nova Scotia, under the pretence of its constituting a part of the French territory. Besides being a palpable invasion of a British possession, this was productive of a two-fold evil to the new colony. When Acadia had been ceded to the crown of England, Annapolis

[d] Smollet, vol. iii. p. 367.

was

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was the chief town, and indeed continued so till the building of Halifax. Many of the French families that inhabited the town under their native government, were suffered and chose to continue in it, and in fact became British subjects. Not a few, however, still retained their predilection for their mother-country, were closely connected with the French establishments in Cape Breton and Canada, and were active partizans in instigating the Indians to molest the English colonists. Encouraged by the vicinity of the fort now raised, they became openly rebellious. By the fortification of the same post, the Indians also acquired an easy entrance into the peninsula, to annoy, plunder, capture, and massacre the subjects of England.

In spring 1750, general Cornwallis detached major Lawrence with a small body of men to reduce the Annapolitans to obedience; but at his approach they burnt their town, forsook their possessions, and sought protection from monsieur la Corne, who was at the head of fifteen hundred men, well supplied with arms and ammunition. Major Lawrence, knowing that he was unable to cope with such a force in the open field, demanded an interview with the French commandant, and asked on what principle he protected rebellious subjects of Great Britain? La Corne, without entering into any discussion, merely replied, that he was ordered to defend that post, and would obey his orders. The major found it necessary to return to Halifax, and lay the proceedings of the French before the governor. The Annapolitans, better known by the name of the French Neutrals, in conjunction with the Indians, renewed their depredations upon the inhabitants of Halifax and of other settlements in the province. Incensed at the ingratitude of the French Neutrals towards that country which for near forty years had afforded them the most liberal protection, general Cornwallis determined to expel them from a coun-

Hostilities of the French Neutrals and Indians.

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a country which they now so much disturbed. He accordingly detached major Lawrence with a thousand men, attacked the Neutrals and Indians, routed them, and killed and wounded a considerable number, until they took refuge with M. la Corne. This gentleman, an officer under the French king, and commanding that monarch's troops, gave shelter and assistance to rebels against the British government, then at peace with his sovereign. The English built a fort not far from Chenecto, called St. Lawrence, after its founder, and this served in some degree to keep the French and their auxiliary barbarians in check.* Still, however, the Indians and Neutrals[e] were able very often to attack the English in the interior parts of the peninsula. During the years 1751 and 1752, the Indians and their coadjutors continued to disturb, plunder, and butcher the new colonists. In their expeditions they were countenanced and supported by the French commanders, who always supplied them with boats, arms, and ammunition. While the French thus stimulated and assisted the enemies of our country, they were no less active and persevering themselves in encroachment, and continued to erect forts within the English limits, to secure their own inroads and aggressions. They projected, and in a great degree finished, a chain of posts in the north, as they had erected and were erecting a similar chain in the south. It was obviously the intention of the French to command the whole interior country from the river St. Lawrence to the Mississippi, and thereby to prevent intercourse between the Indians and the English colonies: in peace to command all the Indian trade, and in war to enable themselves to make continual inroads upon the English, and to

French scheme of aggression.

[e] At the cession of Acadia to England, a considerable number of its French colonists had, as we have before observed, been permitted to remain in the country, on engaging to yield allegiance to Britain, and undertaking to be neutral in any subsequent dispute between Britain and France; and thence they received the name of Neutrals.

have

have the whole assistance of the Indians to annoy and devastate the British plantations. Thus they proposed to surround our settlements by a strong and comprehensive line on every side, but that next the sea, so as not only to contract our bounds, and reduce their productiveness, but to have the means of progressively advancing to the coast, and depriving us of our most valuable possessions. This was their grand scheme of territorial and commercial acquisition in North America; in which they had made very considerable progress, before Britain took effectual steps to check their encroachments. Such was the state of affairs in 1753.

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Operation and progress.

1754. British government demands satisfaction of France.

THE British government, by repeated representations, was made sensible that the encroachments of France were extremely important; and it was soon discovered, that, besides the other advantages which would accrue to that nation from the transfer of so much of our American trade, and the enclosure of our colonies, she would rapidly enhance the value of her West India islands. A reference to treaties proved that these pretensions were as contrary to justice, as the resources of the country demonstrated them to be hurtful to our interests. Unwilling, however, to have recourse to hostilities without previously demanding satisfaction, George instructed his ambassador at Versailles to state the grievance, and require redress. The ambassador accordingly represented the injuries which had been sustained by British subjects, through the instigation of the French, and the aggressions made by their governors, in entering our territories and building forts within British limits. He demanded the indemnification of the sufferers, the punishment of the aggressors, and the transmission of orders[f] to prevent future violence and invasion, and to demolish the forts already erected. The French court gave general promises

[f] Smollet, vol. iii. p. 381.

of

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of sending such instructions to its officers in America, as would preclude every future cause of just complaint. So far, however, was that court from being sincere in its professions, that De la Jonquiere, commander in chief, proceeded more rapidly than before to extend the encroachments. Britain, finding how little the conduct of France tallied with her professions, resolved to assume a different tone, and dispatched orders to the governors of America to repel force by force, and to form a political confederacy for their mutual defence.

1754. Receives an evasive answer, and resolves to repel force by force.

Negociations of Britain with the Indians.

It was an important object to England, to detach the Indians from their connexion with France, and procure their co-operation with the British settlements. The governor of New York was directed to attempt the accomplishment of these purposes. The undertaking was difficult: the French were employing every art which their versatile ingenuity could devise, to win the attachment of the Indians. The English governor, however, made overtures to the chiefs of the six nations; and, by the promise of valuable presents, prevailed on them to open a negociation. A congress was accordingly appointed at Albany, whither the governor, accompanied by commissioners from the other colonies, repaired. By the few Indians who attended, the proposals of the English were received with evident coldness. They, however, accepted the presents, professed attachment to England, and declared their enmity to France. They even renewed their treaties with Britain, and demanded assistance to drive the French from the Indian territories. To avail themselves of these professions, the British governor sent major Washington, with four hundred Virginians, to occupy a post on the banks of the Ohio. That officer erected a fort to defend himself, until an expected reinforcement should arrive from New York. De Viller, a French commander, marched with nine hundred men to dislodge Washington; but first summoned the Virginians to evacuate

evacuate a fort, which was built, as he asserted, on ground belonging to the French, or their allies. Finding his intimation disregarded, he attacked the place. Washington, though inferior in force, for some time defended himself with great vigour; but was at length obliged to yield to superior numbers. He surrendered the fort by capitulation, stipulating the return of his troops to their own country. The Indians, notwithstanding their recent professions and contract, attacked and plundered Washington's party, and massacred a considerable number.

1754.

Affairs were now drawing to a crisis between England and France. The French were persevering in a system of encroachment, which the British were determined no longer to permit. It now, therefore, remained for France, either to relinquish her usurpations, and make satisfaction to the injured, or to support injustice by force. As she appeared evidently resolved to embrace the latter alternative, both nations considered a rupture as probable, and began to prepare for hostilities. France sent reinforcements of troops to America, and England directed her colonies to take proper measures to prevent or repel the inroads of the enemy.

In the internal state of British America there were circumstances favourable to the progress of the aggressors. Each settlement had separate interests, and was internally divided into different factions. Some unseasonable disputes between the executive government and popular speakers in the assemblies, occupied the time and attention which the mutual interests of all parties required to have been devoted to the common defence.

When the British parliament met in 1754-5, his majesty's speech [r], without expressly mentioning the probable approach of hostilities, evidently implied a

[r] See State-papers for that year.

conviction

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conviction that they were sufficiently probable to call for vigorous precautionary measures. The king declared, that his principal view was, and should be, to strengthen the foundation and secure the continuance of a general peace; to improve the present advantages of tranquillity for promoting the trade of his subjects, and protecting those possessions which constituted one great source of their wealth and commerce. In voting the supplies, parliament made provision for more than the peace establishment of land and sea forces. Meanwhile preparations were making at Brest, and other ports of France. A powerful armament was equipping, and acknowledged to be intended for North America, though the French government continued to make amicable professions.

1755. Message from his majesty to parliament.

On the 25th of March 1755, a message from his majesty informed parliament, that the present situation of affairs rendered it necessary to augment his forces by sea and land; and take such other measures as might best tend to secure the just rights and possessions of his crown in America, as well as to repel any attempts that should be formed against his majesty and his kingdoms. A loyal and suitable address was returned to this message, and a supply voted for the purpose recommended. The French still offered the most solemn assurances of intended amity, and adherence to treaties. With such artifice and duplicity did the court of Versailles conduct itself, that even the instrument of these professions, the ambassador at the court of London, believed his employers to be sincere [h]; and, on discovering his error, repaired to his own country, and upbraided the French ministers with making him the tool of their dissimulation.

Persevering in deceit, the court of Versailles ordered him to return to London, and give fresh

[h] See Smollet, vol. iii. p. 433.

assurances

assurances of its peaceful intentions. Undoubted intelligence now arriving that a strong armament was ready to sail from Rochfort and Brest, afforded proofs of the little confidence due to the French professions of pacific intentions. The court of London in vain applied to France for redress, and finding her fleet destined for the scene of her continued aggression, naturally and justly concluded her intentions to be hostile, and sent a squadron under Admiral Boscawen to watch the motions of the enemy's fleet. Having sailed toward the end of April for the American seas, to intercept the armament, he reached in June the coast of Newfoundland. The French squadron arrived about the same time at the mouth of the river St. Lawrence. The fogs so prevalent on those coasts, prevented the fleets from seeing each other. A great part of our rival's armament escaped up the river; but the Alcide and Lys, two ships of the line, with land-forces on board, being separated from the rest of the fleet, fell in with two British ships[1], and after a vigorous engagement were captured.

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Preparations for war.

THIS was the commencement of maritime hostilities; and, were we to overlook preceding acts of the French, it might appear to be an aggression on our part; but the fact, as we have seen, was, that they had for several years encroached on our American territories: we had repeatedly applied for redress, but in vain; for they continued and increased their invasions. Thus they had commenced hostilities, while we had only used force in our own defence, to weaken an armament which was destined to support and extend their acts of injustice. It is as evident a principle as any in jurisprudence, that injuries attempted may be prevented; and therefore, that war to hinder an attack, is as lawful as war to repel or punish an injury. The French, however, had done more than attempt,

Commencement of naval hostilities.

[1] The Dunkirk, capt. (late earl) Howe, and the Defiance, capt. Marsh.

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1755. France the aggressor.

they had inflicted injury, and were continuing in the same course; satisfaction having been demanded, they gave no redress; therefore force on our part was not only justifiable, but necessary. Hostilities being on the side of England just, the conduct of France from the peace of Aix la Chapelle, especially her schemes of naval aggrandizement, and the vast increase of her marine, rendered it expedient that we should endeavour chiefly to weaken that part of her power by which we might be most annoyed. Policy coincided with justice in dictating an attack upon her ships; this was really no more than making reprisals at sea, for her aggressions on land. As the provocation of the French justified reprisals, prudence required that, in order to weaken the enemy as well as indemnify ourselves, they should be as extensive as possible. The court of London formed a very vigorous and bold resolution: it issued orders, that all French ships, whether outward or homeward bound, should be seized, and brought into English harbours. To execute this plan, admirals of the highest celebrity were chosen, and English cruisers were judiciously disposed in every station. Though our squadrons had not the good fortune to fall in with the enemy, our frigates and sloops were so successful in annoying the French trade, that before the end of the year, three hundred of their merchant ships, many of them from St. Domingo and Martinico, extremely rich, and eight thousand of their sailors, were taken. These captures not only deprived the French of a great source of revenue in the property which they contained, but of a great body of seamen, and thus were extremely advantageous to this country. They also afforded a lesson to a power seeking commercial and naval aggrandizement, that no policy could more effectually obstruct such an object, than a hostile attack on Great Britain.

Seizure of the French merchantmen.

Campaign in America.

THE English and their colonies began regular hostilities in America, to repel the invasions of the French

French, and to dispossess them of their unjust acquisitions. In the plan of operations for the campaign 1755 in North America, it was proposed to attack the enemy on the confines of Nova Scotia in the north, their forts on the lakes in the west, and on the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia in the south-west. Early in the spring, a body of troops was transported from New England to Nova Scotia, to assist in driving the French from their encroachments on that province. Colonel Monckton was appointed by the governor to command in this service. Three frigates and a sloop were sent up the bay of Fundy, under the command of Captain Rous, to second the land-forces. The British and provincial troops, attacking a large body of French regulars, Acadians, and Indians, compelled them to fly. Thence Monckton advanced to the fort of Beausejour, which the French had built on British ground. Investing it on the 12th of June, he in four days forced it to surrender. Changing the name to Cumberland, he secured the possession by a garrison. On the 17th, he reduced another fort; a valuable acquisition, as it was the chief magazine of the enemy in that quarter. Captain Rous, no less successful, obliged the French to evacuate a fort which they had erected at the mouth of the river St. John. These successes secured to England the entire possession of Nova Scotia, which had been so long disturbed by the enemy.

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But the most important object of the campaign was, to drive the French from their posts on and near the Ohio. The strongest fort for securing their settlements was Du Quesne, against which an expedition was projected, to consist of British and provincial troops under general Braddock. This commander arrived in Virginia with two regiments in the month of February. When he was ready to take the field, he found that the contractors had provided neither a sufficient quantity of provisions

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for his troops, nor the requisite number of carriages. This deficiency, however, might have been foreseen, if proper enquiries had been made into the state of that plantation. The Virginians, attending little to any produce but tobacco, did not raise corn enough for their own subsistence; and being most commodiously situated for water-carriage, they had very few vehicles of any other kind. Pennsylvania, on the other hand, abounded in corn, in carts, waggons, and horses; that, therefore, would have been the fitter colony for forwarding military operations. Besides, it would have afforded a shorter route, by equally practicable roads, to the destined place. The choice of Virginia considerably delayed the expedition. From Pennsylvania the commander was at length supplied, and enabled to march; but a fatal obstacle to success still remained in the character of the general. Braddock, bred in the English guards, was well versed in established evolutions. Of narrow understanding, though sufficiently expert in customary details, he had never ascended to the principles of military science. Rigid in matters of discipline, but fully as often for the display of command as the performance of duty, he was very unpopular among the soldiers. Positive and self-conceited in opinion, haughty and repulsive in manners, he closed the avenues to information. Brave and intrepid, he, with his confined abilities, might have been fit for a subordinate station, but evidently had not the power, essential to a general, of commanding an ascendancy over the minds of men. The creature of custom and authority, he despised all kinds of tactics and warfare which he had not seen practised. He did not consider, that the same species of contest may not suit the plains of Flanders, and the fastnesses of America. The duke of Cumberland had written his instructions with his own hand, and had both in word and writing cautioned him strongly against ambuscade.

General Braddock.

The

The self-conceit of his contracted mind suffered him neither to regard these counsels, nor to consult any under his command respecting American warfare. The Indians, if well disposed, would, from their knowledge of the country and their countrymen, have rendered essential service. Disgusted, however, by his overbearing behaviour, most of them forsook his army. On the 18th of June he set off from Fort Cumberland, and marched with great expedition through the woods; but, though entreated by his officers, neglected to explore the country. On the 8th of July he arrived within ten miles of Fort Du Quesne, still utterly regardless of the situation or disposition of the enemy. The following day, about noon, as he was passing a swamp between a lane of trees, he was suddenly attacked on both flanks by bodies of French and Indians concealed in the wood. The general, in his dispositions for resistance, shewed the perseverance of his obstinacy. He was advised to scour the thickets with grape-shot, or with Indians and other light troops; but he commanded his forces to form in regular order, as if they had been advancing against an enemy in an open country. His soldiers, perceiving themselves misled into an ambuscade, were seized with a panic, and thrown into confusion; which was soon increased by the fall of most of their officers, at whom the dexterous Indian marksmen had chiefly aimed. The general fought valiantly; but receiving a shot, was carried off the field, and expired in a few hours: an awful instance, how little mere courage and forms of tactics, without judgment and prudence, can avail a commander in chief when he is employed on an important service. The provincial troops advancing from the rear, and engaging the enemy, gave the regulars time to recover their spirits and ranks, and thus preserved them from total destruction. Notwithstanding this support, more than half the troops were cut to pieces. The remains of the army

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made a masterly retreat to Virginia under colonel Washington, to whose skill and conduct it was chiefly owing that they were not overtaken and destroyed; but they thus necessarily left the western frontier exposed to the French and Indians.

Operations on the lakes.

THE same general object was attempted from the more northern provinces: thence it was proposed to dispossess the French of the cordon of forts erected between and along the lakes. General Shirley, who had succeeded Braddock, ordered the surviving troops to march from Virginia to New York, that they might join the northern forces. An expedition was accordingly undertaken against two of the principal forts; one at Niagara, between lakes Erie and Ontario, and the other at Crown Point, near lake Champlain. General William Johnson, who having long resided in the interior parts of the province of New York, had learned the language and gained the affections of the Indians, was appointed to command against Crown Point. On the 18th of August the general began his march, and was by the Indians exactly informed of the disposition of the enemy. He found baron Dieskau proceeding against him with a strong body of troops. An advanced party of British provincials and friendly Indians being attacked by the French, suffered considerably before the rest of the army arrived; but Johnson, having come up with the main body, engaged and completely defeated the French forces, of whom almost one thousand were killed.

AUTUMN being now far advanced, it was considered as too late in the season to attack Crown Point, and the troops retired to quarters.

SHIRLEY himself headed the expedition to Niagara; but the defeat of Braddock had damped the spirits of the provincials, and even of the British troops, so that not a few deserted. It was the middle of August before he could collect a force sufficient for his purpose; and he was obliged to leave a number of

of his men to guard the fort of Oswego, on the western confines of New York, lest the French should seize it, and intercept his return. There also he was obliged to wait for provisions till the 29th of September. The autumnal rains being now set in, many of the Indians deserted the army. It was determined in a council of war, that under all these disadvantages they should defer the projected expedition till the following season. Shirley, therefore, leaving a garrison of 700 men at Oswego, returned to Albany. CHAP. I. 1755.

THUS, in the campaign 1755, the general object was, to dislodge the French from their usurped possessions in America. This purpose was attempted on the side of Nova Scotia with success; against the French chain of forts with partial advantage, but without ultimate or material effect; and against their encroachments on the confines of Virginia, not only without success, but with grievous disaster: and, on the whole, this campaign in America was unfortunate to Britain. Our losses in that quarter of the world, however, were amply compensated by the decisive blow which we struck in Europe, against the trade and shipping of the enemy.

MEANWHILE, the contending parties were actively employed in interesting neighbouring princes in their respective causes. France, in conformity to her general plan of naval aggrandizement, bent her most strenuous efforts to inspire Spain with a jealousy of the English, and to render her inimical to this country; but Spain was at this time peculiarly well affected to Britain. Ferdinand VI. was chiefly desirous of cultivating the arts of peace; of rousing his people from the lethargic indolence under which they had so long laboured; of propagating a spirit of industry, and encouraging manufactures and commerce. His ablest and most confidential adviser in these projected improvements, was Don Ricardo Wall, a gentleman of Irish extraction, respected for political Negociations.

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political ability, and from the conclusion of the peace, Spanish ambassador at the court of London. This minister bestowed great pains in learning the nature and processes of the manufactures and merchandise which had so much aggrandized England; and communicating his various observations to his master, convinced the monarch that, commercially and politically, an amicable intercourse with Britain was, and would be, most conducive to the best interests of Spain. These were sentiments which the Catholic king continued to cherish; and when hostilities broke out, the French ministers professed to Ferdinand a desire of an accommodation; but insisted that a suspension of arms in America should be a preliminary. The Spanish king appeared not averse to the office of mediator; but the British minister stated, that, however willing his majesty might be to accept of Spain as an umpire, he could not agree to the proposed preliminary, without hazarding the whole British interests in America. Wall, thoroughly acquainted with the real state of affairs between the two powers, seconded these arguments, and Spain resolved to observe a strict impartiality in the contest.

1755. Friendly disposition of Spain.

With other powers the negociations of France were more successful. Overtures were made to German princes for succours, which implied an intention of attacking the electoral dominions of the king of England. Hanover had evidently no concern in the disputes between the belligerent powers, and was, respecting France, in a state of absolute neutrality. The design of invading that country was obviously unjust, and contrary to the law of nations. The French, however, knowing the predilection of George for his native dominions, thought that, to protect them, he would make great sacrifices of the British claims in America. Aware of their designs, his Britannic majesty concluded a treaty with the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, for the employment

Subsidiary treaties,

ployment of eight thousand troops in the service of the king whenever they might be wanted. An alliance was also concluded with Elizabeth Empress of Russia, by which she was to hold fifty-five thousand men in readiness for the service of his Britannic majesty. CHAP. I. 1755.

1756. discussed in parliament.

When these treaties came before parliament, they underwent a very able discussion. The parties in parliament were at this time three: the first consisted of the Newcastle interest; the second was headed by Mr. Fox, with powerful connexions, which were formed and combined by the solid and masculine ability of that statesman; and the third was led by Mr. Pitt, who rested for support on superior genius, splendid eloquence, a bold and intrepid spirit, and the exalted character and extensive popularity which these qualities commanded. Ever since the final downfal of the Pretender's hopes, and the discomfiture of the jacobites, the chief offices of government had been bestowed less exclusively upon whigs, than during the first thirty years of the house of Brunswick. Since the death of Mr. Pelham, Mr. Fox had been secretary of state, Mr. Pitt paymaster-general of the forces, and Mr. Legge, Mr. Pitt's friend, chancellor of the exchequer; so that the whig connexion, though the duke of Newcastle was prime minister, did not monopolize administration, and the other servants of his majesty did not always coincide in his grace's political measures. The treaty with Russia was very severely censured by Pitt and Legge, as producing an enormous expence, from which Britain could derive no benefit, since the efforts of Russia could not be employed against the French in North America, where only they were invading our rights and possessions. [k] The Newcastle party, however, Mr. Pitt.

[k] There is a very animated description of this debate in a letter from Lord Orford. See Horace Walpole to General Conway, dated November 15, 1755. Orford's Works.

argued,

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argued, that this danger of Hanover was incurred from her connexion with Britain, without any act of her own; and that it was therefore equitable and just that Britain should contribute towards her defence. On this ground, the treaty was approved by a great majority, and Legge and Pitt resigned their offices. Vigorous preparations were now making for war. In France, several bodies of troops moved towards the northern coasts, and excited in England an alarm of an intended invasion. Ere long it appeared, that the sole design of France was to divert our attention, while she meditated a blow in another quarter.

Expedition of France against Minorca.

The French had prepared an armament in the Mediterranean: at Toulon, twelve ships of the line were ready in April 1756, and conveyed an army of eleven thousand men to Minorca. Landing there, they invested Fort St. Philip on the 25th of April. The ministers and consuls of England, residing in Spain and Italy, had repeatedly sent intelligence to government of the armament preparing, and that they apprehended Minorca to be its object. In this opinion they were confirmed, by certain information that the fleet was victualled with only two months provision, and consequently could not be designed for America, or any distant expedition. General Blakeney, governor of Minorca, under the same conviction, repeatedly represented to the British ministers, the weakness of the garrison of St. Philip, which was the chief fortress of the island. No steps, however, were taken to reinforce the general, until the French were about to invade Minorca. Convinced at length of the danger, ministry attempted measures of defence; which were neither effectual in force, nor, as it afterwards appeared, in the commander who was entrusted. The French fleet now consisted of fifteen ships of the line, well equipped and manned. Ten only were dispatched from Britain, and under the conduct of Admiral Byng, who had

Byng sent to its relief;

had never acquired a character sufficient to justify so important a trust. On the 7th of April they sailed from Spithead for Gibraltar. The admiral, being instructed to enquire whether the French fleet had passed the Streights, learned at Gibraltar that the enemy had actually descended upon Minorca. He wrote to the admiralty, that if he had been sent in time, he could have prevented the French from effecting a landing. He complained that there were no magazines in Gibraltar for supplying his squadron with necessaries; that the careening wharfs, pits, and store-houses, were entirely decayed, so that he would have the greatest difficulty in repairing his ships; that it would be impolitic to attempt the relief of St. Philip, as it could not be saved but by a land-force strong enough to raise the siege; and that a small reinforcement would only increase the number of men who must fall into the hands of the enemy. This letter, implying a charge of culpable negligence against administration, and also anticipating the miscarriage of his enterprise, was very unpleasing at home, and rendered Byng odious to government.

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The admiral, reinforced by a squadron under Mr. Edgecumbe, left Gibraltar on the 8th of May[1]. Arriving off Minorca, he attempted to send intelligence to general Blakeney. The French fleet now appearing, he formed his line of battle. In the evening the enemy advanced in order, but tacked about to gain the weather-gage. The next morning both advanced to the conflict. Rear-admiral West, second in command, attacked the enemy with such force as soon to drive them out of their line; but he was not supported by admiral Byng's division. The admiral, though his own ship had 90 guns, and was well manned and equipped, kept aloof. His captain exhorted him to bear down upon

declines an engagement with the French fleet.

[1] See Smollet, vol. iii. p. 500.

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upon the enemy; but he declared his resolution to avoid the error of admiral Matthews, who, in the preceding war, by pushing too far forward, had broken the line, and exposed himself to the enemy's fire. Such precipitation Byng was determined to avoid; and, indeed, so resolutely did he adhere to his cautious plan, that he really did not engage. The French admiral, not wishing to compel a closer fight, took advantage of Mr. Byng's avoidance of rashness, and retreated. Calling a council of war, Byng stated his own inferiority to the enemy in weight of metal and number of men; with his opinion, that the relief of Minorca was impracticable, and that it was safest to retire to Gibraltar. The council having concurred in these sentiments, he accordingly did retreat to Gibraltar; and Minorca, thus deserted, after a very gallant defence of nine weeks by general Blakeney and his valiant band, fell into the hands of the enemy. The admiralty, informed of this conduct, was extremely enraged against Byng. How, they asked, could he ascertain the impracticability of defending Minorca, without trying the experiment? Was the impression made by West, a proof of the inferiority of our naval force? Had not the English generally prospered from adventurous boldness? Where was the danger of seconding, instead of abandoning, the other division, when it had broken the enemy's line? Was it by such avoidance of contest, that England had attained the highest pitch of naval glory? These sentiments extended from the admiralty over the whole nation. A violent popular rage arose against Byng. This predominant passion, said by the historians of the time [m] to have been cherished by ministers, in order to divert the public attention from their own supineness, naturally overlooked the circumstances of the case. Presuming him guilty, with-

Popular indignation.

[m] See Smollet, vol. iii, p. 504.

out

out ascertaining the grounds of the alleged guilt, the nation, by anticipating, perhaps in a certain degree produced, the sentence which he afterwards underwent. Byng, having been superseded, was brought home under arrest, and committed close prisoner to Greenwich hospital. He was tried for cowardice, treachery, and not having done his utmost. Acquitted of the two first charges, he was condemned on the last. Great intercessions were made in his favour, and even by the court which sentenced him, to procure the royal mercy. The applications, however, were unsuccessful; though respited for a time, he was shot on the 14th of April 1757. Many, who did not pretend to vindicate Byng from the charge of misconduct, considered his fall as a sacrifice to the numerous, but now feeble junto, which supported the measures of the duke of Newcastle. Indeed it is evident, that, whether Byng's conduct (if he had a sufficient force) arose from timidity, professional ignorance, or gross error of judgment, it was such as demonstrated him unfit for the office with which he was entrusted, and consequently was disgraceful to those ministers who had selected him for that employment. As he never had established a high character as a naval commander, and there were other officers who had attained eminent distinction, it was alleged that the choice of Byng arose from political connexion, and not from personal character. His trial and execution, however, if they for a time diverted the public attention, did not continue to abstract it from the conduct of administration.

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Byng tried,

and executed.

Negociations had still been going on between the courts of London and Versailles; but the king of England, from the invasion of Minorca, considering France as determined to reject all amicable overtures, declared war in May 1756, and published a manifesto stating the ground both of its justice and necessity.

Declaration of war.

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necessity. In the following month, war was declared by France against Britain.

1756. Campaign in America.

THE transactions in America, in the campaign 1756, were neither advantageous nor honourable to England. The British plan was, to attack the fort of Niagara, in order to cut off the communication between Canada and Ontario; to reduce Ticonderago and Crown Point, that the frontiers of New York might be delivered from the danger of invasion, and Great Britain might become master of Lake Champlain; to detach a body of troops, by the river Kennebec, to alarm the capital of Canada; and to besiege Fort Du Quesne and other fortresses on the Ohio.[n] The preparations, however, were by no means adequate to such numerous and extensive objects. There was great tardiness in dispatching troops from England. The earl of Loudon, appointed commander in chief, arrived so late with his armament, that it was useless for the whole year. Thus the enemy were enabled, not only to be better provided against future attacks, but even then to act on the offensive. The French and Indians continued to molest the British settlements with impunity. Encouraged by the inactivity of the English forces, they attacked the fortress of Oswego, and made themselves masters of it, though strongly garrisoned. The earl of Loudon, finding himself unable to act offensively that year, employed his time in preparations for beginning the following campaign early, and with great force. No action of importance distinguished the naval history of this year. Single British ships took merchantmen and ships of war belonging to the enemy, but the fleets were not engaged after our retreat from Minorca. The most important acquisitions to this country were attained through privateers, which considerably distressed the enemy's trade.

[n] See Smollet, vol. iii. p. 550.

IN

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In the hostilities between Britain and France, other countries now became involved. His Britannic majesty had, as we have seen, formed a treaty with Russia, in order to preserve the neutrality of Hanover, and to employ a great portion of the French forces. Circumstances, however, speedily gave a total change to this system of alliance, and effected a confederacy between the king of Britain and the Prussian Frederic, who was the opponent of Russia. These engagements and their objects, necessarily demand a short review of the progress and state of the Prussian power under that extraordinary man, who then held the sovereignty.

Affairs on the continent.

In the seventeenth century, Brandenburg was a principality of little importance in the politics of Europe. Towards its close, its sovereign became an elector; and in the beginning of the last century, a king. Frederic William, the second monarch of Prussia, with a view to increase the power and importance of his kingdom, devoted his attention almost exclusively to his army. He established a military force, much superior to any that had been on foot under his predecessors; and formed an army with the most perfect discipline according to the existing rules of tactics, but far inferior in number and strength to the forces of the neighbouring potentates. Indeed, his dominions could not supply, much less maintain, a very powerful army. His soil was unfruitful, his population was scanty, his people were poor, and his revenue was inconsiderable. These were the narrow resources which, on the death of Frederic William, fell into the hands of his son and successor [*] Frederic II. But Frederic had in his genius and spirit resources which supplied the political and physical wants of his kingdom: he was a man born to render a small state great.

Frederic II. of Prussia.

[*] See Gillies's Frederic, p. 62.

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THE house of Brandenburg had ancient claims to the two principalities of Silesia, almost as great in extent, and fully equal in value, to half its dominions. The claim was itself intricate. Austria asserted with truth, that Brandenburg had yielded Silesia for an equivalent; but Frederic denied that his predecessor possessed the power of ceding that territory; alleging besides, that no equivalent had been received; and that the consideration given, was totally inadequate. As Austria altogether reprobated this construction of the treaty, Frederic had, on the death of the emperor Charles VI., invaded Silesia; the queen of Hungary, who was then engaged with so many enemies, and unable to defend Silesia effectually, had ceded it at last, by the treaty of Breslaw, to the Prussian king. Hostilities being again renewed between Maria Teresa and Frederic, a second peace was concluded at Dresden in 1745, in which the king of Prussia dictated the terms, and Silesia was renounced more solemnly than before. The empress-queen [p], considering the valuable province of Silesia as not restored by her justice, but extorted from her weakness, had scarcely settled this peace, before she began to project schemes for its recovery. In 1746, she formed with the court of Petersburgh a treaty which was ostensively defensive, but really offensive. By a secret article it was provided, that if his Prussian majesty should attack the empress-queen, the empress of Russia, or the republic of Poland, the aggression should be considered as a breach of the treaty of Dresden; the right of the empress-queen to Silesia, ceded by that treaty, should revive; and the contracting parties should mutually furnish an army of sixty thousand men to re-invest the empress queen with that duchy. Poland, without actually signing this treaty, was understood to accede to its conditions.

[p] Francis Stephen, her husband, had been then just chosen emperor.

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Maria Teresa of Austria.

AFTER the peace of Aix la Chapelle, the empress-queen had devoted great attention to the internal improvement of her country, especially to the increase of her military strength. This engine of power she promoted by a judicious choice of officers, liberal encouragement to her troops, and, above all, by her rare and happy talents of exciting in those who approached her person, zeal, emulation, exertion, and a resolution to encounter every risk in order to obtain her favour. [q] She rendered her army much more perfect and formidable than any force had before been under the house of Austria: and while thus making preparations at home, she was not idle abroad; she employed her utmost efforts to embroil the king of Prussia with the court of Petersburgh, and made rapid though secret progress in her undertaking. The politics of Maria Teresa were at this time chiefly directed by count Kaunitz, who for so many years served the house of Austria with distinguished zeal and ability. Kaunitz, anxious to gratify his mistress by the recovery of Silesia, was aware that the loss of that province, and the aggrandizement of Frederic, had been materially promoted by the war beteen Austria and France. While the courts of Versailles and Berlin continued connected, it would be very difficult for the empress-queen to execute her designs of humbling Frederic and exalting herself. Investigating the history and interests of Austria, Kaunitz saw that her dissensions with France, her most powerful neighbour, had been the greatest obstacle to the gratification of her ambition. He knew also, that the house of Austria had been the chief obstacle on the continent to the aggrandizement of France. The French and Austrian sovereigns had been rivals from the time of Francis I. and Charles V. Kaunitz projected a sacrifice of ancient rivalry to present

Kaunitz.

[q] Gillies's Frederick, p. 207.

 interest,

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interest, by effecting an alliance with France. Having impressed on the empress-queen the justness and force of his views, he was sent as ambassador to the court of Versailles. Qualified by the depth of his genius for conducting any great or difficult business, he was by other qualities as well as his ministerial talents peculiarly well-fitted to acquire ascendancy at the court of France. Versatile, capable of accommodating himself to any characters or humours which it suited his purpose to conciliate, he greatly resembled a French courtier. In his taste and manners as trifling, as he was in his understanding and political views profound, he could match a Frenchman in either his frivolity or strength. Having established his influence at Versailles, he employed it in promoting his grand project of confederacy. He represented to the French ministers, "that the time was now come when the French ought to emancipate themselves from the influence of the kings of Prussia and Sardinia, and a number of petty princes, who studiously sowed dissension between the great powers of Europe, in order to benefit themselves. Excited by their artifices, the courts of Versailles and Vienna were continually contriving schemes hostile to each other, and hurtful to both; whereas in conformity to the rules of just policy they ought rather to adopt such a system of public conduct, as would remove every ground of difference or jealousy, and lay the foundation for a solid and permanent peace."[r] The novelty of this plan of politics at first appeared extravagant to the court of France, which had been long accustomed to consider the houses of Austria and Bourbon as rivals; but, on maturely weighing the propositions, they became more disposed for their reception. Besides the many continental advantages which Kaunitz from time to time stated as about to accrue

[r] See Gillies's Frederic, p. 209.

from

from this plan, they would be able, by amity with Austria, to direct the principal part of their force against Britain. CHAP. I. 1755.

MEANWHILE, France urged the king of Prussia to assist her in invading the electorate of Hanover. King George applied to the empress-queen to send to the Low Countries a certain number of men stipulated by treaty, which she declared it was impossible for her to spare for that purpose, as she was apprehensive of the designs of the king of Prussia. Alarmed for the safety of his electorate, our king proposed to Prussia a treaty for preserving the tranquillity of Germany. Frederic thought this proposition more advisable than a renewal of the alliance with France, which was then on the eve of expiration. A treaty was accordingly concluded between Britain and Prussia on the 16th of January 1756, by which the contracting parties bound themselves[s] not to suffer foreign troops of any nation to enter or pass through Germany, but to secure the empire from the calamities of war, and to maintain its fundamental laws and constitutions. The court of France appeared to believe that the king of Prussia was a subordinate prince, who was bound to execute the mandates of Versailles. Informed of Frederic's treaty with England, the French courtiers and ministers were so arrogant and insolent, as to charge him with defection from his ancient protector.[t] Alliance between Britain and Prussia:

KAUNITZ saw that this was the proper time for obtaining the desired alliance with France, and accordingly the treaty was concluded on the 9th of May 1756. This famous confederacy, announced as the union of the great powers, contained a mutual promise between the contracting parties, of reciprocally assisting each other with twenty-four thousand men, in case either of them should be attacked. The Czarina, being applied to by the now allied powers, between France and Austria.

[s] Paper Office, vol. i. p. 39.
[t] King of Prussia's History of the Seven Years War.

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readily acceded to a confederation calculated to promote the projects formed between her and Maria Teresa in 1746. As the depression of the power of England was the object which France sought by her encroachments in North America, and the cause of the war between these two nations, so the depression of Prussia was the object that Austria sought through her alliances with the other great empires, which involved in war the whole continent of Europe. The elector of Saxony, (king of Poland,) though he professed neutrality, really joined in the designs against Prussia. Frederic, one part of whose policy it was to keep in pay spies at every court whose designs it imported him to know, was accurately informed, not only of the objects, but the plans of the allied potentates, and made vigorous preparations for defending himself and his kingdom.

Maria Teresa collected magazines, and assembled two armies in Bohemia and Moravia. The king of Poland, under pretence of exercising his soldiers, drew together sixteen thousand men, and occupied the strong post of Pirna in Saxony. The Russians formed a camp of fifty thousand men in Livonia. Perceiving these hostile preparations, Frederic demanded categorically of the empress-queen, whether she meant to keep or to violate the peace. If she meant the former, nothing would satisfy him, but a clear, formal, and positive assurance, that she had no intention of attacking him either this year or the next. He declared that he should deem an ambiguous answer a denunciation of war, and attested heaven that the empress alone would, in that event, be responsible for the blood spilt and all the dismal consequences. To this demand, requiring so short and direct an answer, a long, indirect, and evasive reply was returned by Kaunitz. The evident intention was, to compel Frederic to commence

mence hostilities.[u] Seeing war unavoidable, the Prussian hero resolved to strike the first blow; but, before he proceeded, intimated to Maria Teresa, that he considered Kaunitz's answer as a declaration of war.

Frederic invades Saxony.

To cover Brandenburg, and carry the war into Bohemia, it was necessary to secure the command of Saxony; because, unless he became master of that electorate, its sovereign might intercept the free navigation of the Elbe, cut off his intercourse with his own dominions, and discomfit his expedition. Frederic, accordingly, in August, entered Upper Saxony, and took possession of Dresden the capital. He had already, through his spies, procured copies of the negociations between the king of Poland and the two Imperial powers; but, wishing to manifest their designs to the world, and aware that they would declare the alleged papers to be forgeries, he was particularly anxious to find the originals. For that purpose, he carefully ransacked the Saxon archives, and at length found the desired documents.[x] Having thus procured the most authentic evidence of the intended partition of his dominions, Frederic published them to the world, to expose the designs of his enemies, and justify his own conduct. The Saxon army being so strongly posted at Pirna that Frederic saw it would be impossible to force their lines, he blocked them up with one division of his army, and with another marched against the Austrians, who were advancing to their relief under general Braun. He attacked them on the first of October, though greatly superior in number, at Lowositz on the left bank of the Elbe; and completely defeating them, forced

[u] See Gillies's Frederic, p. 216.

[x] It was here that Frederic found the secret articles of the treaty of Petersburgh, which I have already mentioned as concluded between Austria and Russia against Prussia, soon after the peace of Dresden; with a reference to a partition-treaty made between the powers before that peace; which treaty of Petersburgh was in effect acceded to by the king of Poland.

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them to abandon all hopes of succouring the Saxons. Frederic, with his victorious troops, returned to the blockade of Pirna. The Saxons, being in great distress for want of provisions, and now deprived of all hopes of assistance, resolved to attempt their escape; but in making the experiment, being surrounded by the Prussians, and finding it impossible to force their way through the enemy, they were compelled to lay down their arms, and surrender themselves prisoners of war. Having thus defeated the intentions of the enemy for this campaign, and the season being far advanced, Frederic placed his troops in winter-quarters.

Discontents in Britain.

In Great Britain, the people were very much dissatisfied with the campaign 1756. The loss of Minorca, followed by the inactivity in America, excited general indignation. Addresses, praying a strict inquiry into the causes of our misfortunes, were presented to parliament from all parts of the kingdom. Ministers were loudly accused, as being, by their incapacity and disunion, the sources of our disgraces and disasters. It was certain that great discord prevailed in the cabinet. Though the duke of Newcastle found it necessary to have the assistance of Mr. Fox's abilities, he by no means regarded him with confidence and favour. Mr. Fox, on the other hand, far from approving the particular measures, and farther still the general conduct, of his colleagues, disdained to continue the tool of so feeble a junto, and resigned his employment. The public loudly called for sacrificing an inefficient combination to the highest individual genius, and for bringing Mr. Pitt into office. The duke of Newcastle resigned. Mr. Pitt, in November 1756, was appointed principal secretary of state; Mr. Legge, chancellor of the exchequer; and the duke of Devonshire, first lord of the treasury.

Mr Pitt appointed minister.

Parliament.

His majesty, desirous of making great efforts in Germany, in his speech to the house took notice of

of the unnatural union between France and Austria, which he considered as threatening the subversion of the empire, and the destruction of the protestant interest on the continent. He called on parliament to enable him to use effectual efforts against such pernicious designs. Soon after, Mr. Pitt delivered a message to the house, of which the substance was, "that as the formidable preparations and vindictive designs of France were evidently bent against his majesty's electoral dominions, and the territories of his good ally the king of Prussia, his majesty confided in the zeal and affection of his faithful commons, to assist him in forming and maintaining an army of observation for the just and necessary defence of the same, and to enable him to fulfil his engagements with his Prussian majesty, for the security of the empire, and the support of their common interests." In the house of commons, when this message was discussed, strong objections were made to an interference in continental politics. It was asserted, that it was neither the duty nor interest of England, to exhaust its blood and treasure in defence of Hanover; and that Austria herself, notwithstanding her recent alliance with France, would not suffer that power to acquire a permanent footing in Germany. Mr. Pitt, viewing the course of French policy, shewed that the main object of France had long been the depression of England. Perceiving distant as well as immediate consequences, he contended that continental acquisitions, by increasing her power and revenue, would ultimately render her more dangerous to this country. He had disapproved of various treaties and subsidies that had been formed and granted in the present reign on account of Hanover solely, and without any advantage to Great Britain; but the treaty with the king of Prussia had for its object the balance of power, now endangered by the confederacy between France and the two empresses.

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Adherence

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1756. Adherence to it was absolutely necessary for the security of England. Hanover was endangered, on account of Britain; it was therefore just that from Britain she should receive protection. Besides, by employing the forces of France in Europe, we weakened her exertions in America. Such was the reasoning by which Mr. Pitt supported the request of the message; it was received by the majority of the house with great approbation, and suitable supplies were voted.

1757. Dissensions in the cabinet. THOUGH parliament had shewn itself eager for the vigorous prosecution of the war, and had in its votes made very liberal provisions for the year; yet there was still a want of harmony in his majesty's councils. The whig confederacy sought an exclusive direction in the administration of affairs. Mr. Pitt would not sacrifice his own opinions and measures to those of the party. The Newcastle combination was most agreeable to the king, and willing to go the greatest lengths in gratifying his electoral partialities. Mr. Pitt, in his principles and system of continental interference, considered the dignity and interest of the British crown and nation [y], and not the prepossessions of the elector of Hanover. [z] He did not at that time conceive that so great a force was necessary to act in Germany, as the king and the Newcastle interest thought requisite. Being inflexible on this subject, he and his friend and supporter, Mr. Legge, were dismissed from their offices. During several months there was no regular administration. A coalition was proposed between Mr. Fox and the Newcastle party: but in the present state of public opinion it

Mr. Pitt dismissed;

[y] Smollet, vol. iv. p. 85.

[z] This is a difference very evident between the continental engagements advised by Mr. Pitt, and many of those encouraged, or at least agreed to, by former ministers, both of George II. and his father. The earl of Sunderland, Sir Robert Walpole, earl Grenville, and the duke of Newcastle, concluded treaties, the exclusive objects of which were, German politics, and the security of Hanover. Mr. Pitt's policy, though it embraced Hanover in its compass, yet had for its object the humiliation of France, and the prosperity of England.

would be evidently ineffectual. The Newcastle adherents, saw, that they could now only possess a share of the government, by suffering the chief direction of affairs to be vested in superior ability. Numberless addresses were presented to his majesty, beseeching him to reinstate Mr. Pitt. Party-spirit appeared extinguished; all voices, without one dissonant murmur, were united in his praise. Mr. Fox, in this state of circumstances, knowing it would be vain for him to contend with the general voice of the people, which was eagerly and loudly soliciting the sovereign to place Pitt at the head of his councils, with much prudence and judgment advised the king to comply with the public desire. Mr. Pitt was again made principal secretary of state, and now became prime minister of England. This appointment of a chief minister, is an epoch in the history of the Brunswick administration of Britain. From the accession of the house of Hanover, the highest offices of state had been uniformly held by members of the whig party. Mr. Pitt, a friend to the constitution of his country, and favourable to the genuine principles of original whigs, was not a member of any confederacy, and owed his promotion to himself only. He commanded party. His elevation manifested the power which the people never fail to possess in a free and well-constituted government. Personally disagreeable to the king, unsupported by any aristocratical confederacy, he was called by the unanimous voice of the people, in a situation of great danger and difficulty, to be the chief[a] manager of British affairs. His appointment was also an epoch in the history of the war; as from the time that he was firmly established in office, and his plans were put into execution, instead

is again appointed.

[a] Mr. Legge was restored to his office of chancellor of the exchequer; the duke of Newcastle was again made first Lord of the Treasury; lord Anson was placed at the head of the Admiralty; Sir Robert Henley was made Keeper of the Great Seal in the room of lord Hardwicke; and Mr. Fox was appointed to the subordinate, but lucrative office, of Pay-master General of the Army.

of

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of disaster and disgrace, success and glory followed the British arms.

1757. Campaign in America;

In the campaign 1757, however, the wisdom and energy of Mr. Pitt were employed too late to operate effectually. This summer, the earl of Loudon, instead of attacking Crown Point, as had been expected, undertook an expedition to Cape Breton against Louisburg. Admiral Holbourne arrived at Halifax on the 9th of July, with a squadron of transports for conveying the troops, consisting of about twelve thousand men. Small vessels which had been sent to examine the condition of the enemy before the armament sailed, brought the unwelcome intelligence, that ten thousand land-forces, of which six thousand were regulars, were stationed at Louisburg; that seventeen ships of the line were moored in the harbour; and that the fortress was plentifully supplied with provisions and military stores. Informed of these particulars, Lord Loudon resolved to postpone the expedition; so that in fact nothing was either effected, or even attempted that year, by the army under his lordship's command.

While Loudon was absent at Halifax, Montcalm, the French commander in chief, extended the enemy's possessions in the back settlements, which it had been their principal object to increase. He attacked and captured Fort William-Henry on the southern shore of Lake George; and by this accession to their former advantages, the French acquired the entire command of the extensive chain of lakes that connects the two great rivers St. Lawrence and Mississippi, and that forms a grand line both of communication and division between the northern and southern parts of this vast continent. Thus in 1757 the interests of Great Britain in North America continued to decline.

Admiral Holbourne, with fifteen sail of the line, appeared off Louisburg; and being reinforced with four

four more, attempted to draw the French to battle; but the enemy were too cautious to venture an engagement. The English fleet, after cruising in those seas till the middle of September, was overtaken by a storm, which wrecked one of the ships, and damaged the greater number; and they returned to England in a very shattered state. CHAP. I. 1757.

THE King of Prussia, having wintered at Dresden, published a manifesto, setting forth the conduct and designs of the Imperial powers and of Saxony, and asserting that he himself had proceeded on principles of self-defence. Meanwhile the combined powers were making great preparations; and France by a subsidy prevailed on the Swedes to join in the confederacy. Maria Teresa exerted herself with great zeal and success; she persuaded the empress of Russia, that the invasion of Saxony, a country guaranteed by Elizabeth, was an insult to her dignity. Besides addressing the Czarina's pride, she tempted her avarice by a subsidy of two millions of crowns, and added considerable bribes to her ministers. With the Germanic body her exertions and success were similar; and it was proposed, that the electors of Brandenburg and Hanover should be put to the ban of the empire. The king of Prussia in these circumstances had recourse to his only powerful ally George II., and proposed a plan of co-operation more extensive than the British sovereign deemed necessary. George confined his plan to the defence of the eastern bank of the Weser, while Frederic wished that of the Rhine to be the principal station, as, from the depth and rapidity of the river, it was much more tenable than the Weser, which was fordable in many places. An army of Germans in British pay, was formed on the plan of king George, and the command entrusted to the duke of Cumberland. In July 1757 his royal highness took the field on the eastern bank of the Weser. The French commanded by marshal d'Estrees, as Frederic

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Frederic had foreseen, easily passed that river, and proceeded to Munster. On the 25th of July they attacked the duke in his entrenchments at Hastenback, and seized one of his batteries. The hereditary prince of Brunswick[b], then only twenty-one years of age, regained the battery sword in hand; and, to use the words of a respectable historian, "proved, in the first exploit, that nature had formed him for a hero."[c] At the same time a Hanoverian colonel, with a few battalions, penetrating through a wood, attacked the French in the rear, put them to flight, and took their cannon and colours. The main body of the enemy however, being in possession of an eminence that commanded and flanked both the lines of the infantry and the battery of the allies, the duke of Cumberland thought it impossible to dislodge them from their posts; and commanded his forces to retire towards Hamalen. Marshal d'Estrees had formed so very different an opinion of the issue of the contest, that he was actually ordering a retreat himself, when he perceived, to his great astonishment, the allied army withdrawing[d]. The duke having evacuated Hamalen, retreated to Nienbergh, then to Verden, and at last to Staden; and thus abandoned the whole country to the French, without any farther contest. The duke of Richlieu, successor to d'Estrees, pursued his highness, and reduced him to a distressing dilemma: before him was the ocean, on the right the Elbe, on the left the Weser, become deeper as it approached the sea; behind was the enemy. Nothing remained, but either to fight their way through the hostile force, which they considered as impossible, or to surrender themselves prisoners of war. Accordingly, the duke capitulated with his whole army, and concluded the noted convention of Cloister-seven, in

Convention of Cloister-seven.

[b] Now duke of Brunswick.
[c] See Gillies's Frederic, p. 247.
[d] Gillies's Frederic, p. 247.

September

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September 1757. By this treaty the troops of Hesse and Brunswick were to return to their respective countries; the Hanoverians were to remain at Staden, in a district assigned them, and no mention was made of the electorate, which was occupied by the French. This unfortunate event was imputed to two errors; one in the original plan of the campaign, in chusing a weak line of defence on the Weser, instead of a strong line on the Rhine; another in the execution, by the order for retreat when there was a probable chance of victory. It was also said, that if the allied army, instead of retiring to a narrow angle, had proceeded towards Prussia, they might have been easily covered by the Prussian forces. His royal highness having returned to England, and not finding his conduct received with that approbation which he expected, resigned all his military employments. The kingdom being now under the administration of Pitt, in order to cause a diversion of the French force favourable to the allies in Germany, he planned an expedition to the coast of France; and a formidable armament was equipped with surprising dispatch.[e] The fleet was commanded by Sir Edward Hawke, and the army by Sir John Mordaunt.

Expedition to the coast of France.

On the 23d of September, the fleet anchored off the river Charente, and took the isle of Aix, with its garrison. It was proposed to attack Rochfort. Sir Edward Hawke was eager for this measure, but Sir John Mordaunt deemed it too dangerous an attempt. After continuing in the river, and reconnoitring the coasts for many days, it was resolved in a council of war that they should return to England. The na-

[e] The equipment affords an instance of the vigorous boldness and decision of the minister's character. When he ordered the fleet to be equipped, and appointed the time and place of its rendezvous, lord Anson said it would be impossible to have it prepared so soon. "It may (said Mr. Pitt) be done; and if the ships are not ready at the time specified, I shall signify your lordship's neglect to the king, and impeach you in the house of commons." This intimation produced the desired effect: the ships were ready. Belsham's George II. p. 428.

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tion was disappointed, and enraged, at the failure of this expedition. All were sensible that the minister had done every thing in his power; and were perfectly satisfied with the conduct of the admiral. The blame was thrown upon the general. He was tried by a court-martial, and acquitted. His exculpatory sentence, however, did not alter the public opinion.

Plans and exploits of the king of Prussia.

DURING these disasters of his ally, the king of Prussia having to contend against five great powers, was in the most perilous circumstances, which only served to display the extraordinary vigour of his genius, the wisdom of his councils, and the magnanimity of his disposition. From his winter-quarters at Prague, he in the beginning of April took the field. Pretending to design only a defensive war, he fortified his camp at Dresden, and made some feeble incursions into Bohemia. The Austrian general, conceiving him to intend nothing beyond these petty enterprises, was lulled into security. Frederic ordered his troops to assemble by different routes at Prague on the 5th of May, where general Brown was posted with a considerable force. The king, knowing that his enemies expected a great reinforcement, determined to bring them to battle before fresh troops should arrive. He attacked them without delay, forced their entrenchments, and gained a complete victory.[f] The Austrians took refuge in Prague. Frederic summoned that city to surrender; but marshal Daun, hastening to its relief, encamped at Kolin upon the Elbe. The king of Prussia, on the 18th of June 1757, having attacked his entrenchments, was repulsed and defeated with great loss; and in consequence of this disaster, raised the siege of Prague. If marshal Daun had been as active in pursuing, as he was skilful in obtaining his victory, he might have prevented Frederic from

Defeated at Prague by the Austrians.

[f] Nineteen thousand were killed, and five thousand taken prisoners. The loss of the conquerors was also very considerable.

retreating

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retreating with the remains of his troops. From Prague, the king retired into Saxony. The Austrians recovered the whole country of Bohemia, and advanced in pursuit of Frederic. Meanwhile the Russians ravaged Prussia, and the Swedes entered Pomerania. To increase the multiplied dangers of the Prussian monarch, the convention of Cloister-seven had deprived him of his only ally; and the French forces were now at liberty to direct against him their whole efforts.[g] This hero was always more energetic and formidable than ever after a defeat. Instead of yielding to difficulties, he was the more strongly incited to extraordinary exertions. With a small body of men he marched against the French, and the troops of the Circles, posted at Rosbach, near Leipsic, in Upper Saxony. He drew up his forces (November 5th, 1757) with such skill, that he overcame a great army. Ten thousand of the enemy were killed and wounded, and seven thousand taken prisoners. Having thus overcome the French, he marched with the utmost expedition against the Austrian army, now assembled in Silesia. The Prussians had lost almost all the towns of that country, and at last Breslaw itself, the capital. Frederic in the end of November arrived in Silesia with an army of thirty-three thousand men. He found the Austrians posted at Louther, being sixty thousand in number, under marshal Daun. By the mere force of military genius, he gained a complete and decisive victory, having killed or taken twenty-one thousand men.[h] Frederic, who knew how to

Perilous situation, stimulates his genius and courage.

He gains a great victory at Rosbach, over the French.

Proceeds in quest of the Austrians,

and gains a decisive victory.

[g] At this time the king of Prussia thus expressed himself in a letter to his friend earl Mareschal: "What say you of this league, which has only the marquis of Brandenburg for its object? The great elector would be surprised to see his great grandson at war with the Russians, the Swedes, the Austrians, almost all Germany, and a hundred thousand French auxiliaries. I know not whether it will be disgrace in me to submit; but I am sure there will be no glory in vanquishing me."

[h] Dr. Gillies, who displays great military science in his account of the engagements of Frederic, shews, that in this battle he adopted both the disposition and movements of Epaminondas at the battle of Leuctra. "He directed his main attack against one part (the left wing) of the enemy's troops, and by worsting them, threw the rest into confusion. One of his evolutions was by marshal Daun mistaken for a retreat; which secured the victory to the Prussians, as a similar misapprehension of the enemy had done to the Theban hero. Gillies's Frederic, p. 262.

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use as well as to gain a victory, retook Breslaw, and recovered Silesia. In the midst of such numerous and complicated operations, Frederic's genius exerted itself in policy as well as in arms. The Russians were so powerful in Prussia, that his troops contended against them in vain. Frederic by his emissaries, entertained a secret correspondence with Peter the Great, duke and heir apparent to the throne of Russia, who was well affected towards the Prussian king. The chancellor Bestuchew, prime minister, in order to gratify Peter, likely soon to be his master, gave orders to the Russian troops to retire towards Poland. Marshal Lehwald, who had commanded against the Russians, freed from their formidable army, marched against the Swedes in Pomerania, defeated them, and drove them out of that province. Frederic, before he went into winter-quarters, reduced Leibnitz, the only fort in Silesia, and so recovered from the Austrians the whole of that province, on account of which they had begun the war. Thus did this extraordinary man, deserted by every ally, with a comparatively small number of forces, make head against the most formidable combination recorded in the annals of Europe; defeat their several armies, distinguished for valour and discipline, and commanded by the most skilful generals; dispossess them of all their acquisitions; and, though fighting against almost the whole continental force of Europe, evince his superiority over all his enemies.

Glorious result of Frederic's campaign.

1758. North America.

THE principal object of British preparations, and the chief theatre of war, in 1758, was North America. The earl of Loudon being recalled after the unsuccessful campaign of 1757, the chief command devolved on general Abercrombie. Next in authority was major-general Amherst. Admiral Boscawen having arrived early in the year, the forces, including provincials as well as regulars, amounted to no less than fifty thousand men. The generals and admiral concerted the plan of the campaign;

Abercrombie takes the command.

Objects and plan of the campaign.

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the objects of which were, the reduction of Louisburg, and the capture of the French line of forts. General Amherst, sailing with ten thousand men under convoy of Boscawen's fleet to Cape Breton, anchored on the 2d of June in sight of Louisburg fortress, which a few days after was regularly invested. After standing a siege of seven weeks, it was compelled to surrender on the 27th of July. Besides the conquest of the whole island, six ships of the line and five frigates were either taken or destroyed by the English.

1758. Expedition against Cape Breton, successful.

General Abercrombie himself, with the main body of the army, undertook the expedition against the forts. His first attempt was against Ticonderago, a fort situated between Lakes George and Champlain, surrounded on three sides with water, and in front secured by a morass. It was defended by a breast-work and entrenchment, and garrisoned by five thousand men.[1] The badness of the roads had prevented the artillery from keeping pace with the army, and it was not yet arrived. Notwithstanding this material want, the general determined to attack the fort; but, though the troops behaved with great gallantry, they were repulsed with considerable loss; two thousand being killed or taken prisoners, and the number of the latter was comparatively few. The general made a hasty retreat to a camp on the southern banks of Lake George. Notwithstanding his loss, being still superior in force to the enemy, his retreat was censured by military men as precipitate. It was alleged, that he ought to have waited for the arrival of his artillery, and, being so supplied, to have proceeded in his operations against the fort. Abercrombie detached a considerable corps under Colonel Bradstreet against Fort Frontignac, situated at the entrance of the river St. Lawrence from Lake

Attempt on Ticonderago. British troops surprised and defeated; nevertheless capture Forts Frontignac and Du Quesne.

[1] In a skirmish which took place on their march, the British army and peerage suffered a great loss by the fall of lord Howe, a young nobleman of the highest promise. He was elder brother to the late earl Howe.

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Ontario; and another body of troops against Fort Du Quesne, under general Forbes. Both these expeditions were successful. Fort Du Quesne, being now a British possession, was called by a British name, and thenceforward denominated Fort Pitt.

1758.

Result of the campaign honourable and advantageous to Britain.

In consequence of these advantages gained by the British troops, the Indian nations between the lakes and the Ohio very readily entered into a treaty with Great Britain. Thus, notwithstanding the repulse at Ticonderago, the campaign of 1758 in America was very advantageous to the British interest, and very honourable to the British nation; as Louisburg had been reduced, the fortified line of communication in the back-settlements broken, the Indians in consequence reconciled, the British territories freed from the danger of invasion, and the French obliged to confine themselves to a defensive plan, while this country could now project offensive operations.

Amherst, encouraged by his own successes, and the general superiority of the British arms, projected the entire conquest of Canada in one campaign. He proposed, as soon as the season should admit, with the principal army to reduce the forts from the river St. Lawrence along the lakes still in the possession of France; to send a large body of land-forces, and a strong squadron of ships of war, to undertake the siege of Quebec, the capital of French America; that he himself, after reducing the forts, should besiege Montreal, sail down the river, and join the besiegers of Quebec. In July 1759, he arrived at Ticonderago, which, strong as it was, the enemy abandoned, and retired to Crown Point. This post they also evacuated, and the Fort of Niagara was captured. The projected siege of Montreal was for this year obliged to be postponed.

1759. General Amherst commander in chief: undertakes an expedition to Canada.

General Wolfe sent against Quebec.

The command of the forces sent to Quebec was entrusted to brigadier-general Wolfe, an officer who, though young, had acquired a high reputa-

tion, and had distinguished himself particularly at the capture of Louisburg. The conquest of Cape Breton, by giving us the command of the entrance to the river St. Lawrence, enabled us to have the co-operation of ships of the line up to the very walls of Quebec. A fleet, consisting of seventeen ships of the line with frigates, accompanied by an army of eight thousand men, sailed up the river. The fleet was commanded by admiral Saunders, with admiral Holmes second in command. The next in military authority to general Wolfe were brigadiers Monckton and Townshend, eldest son to the lord of that name[k], and brigadier Murray, brother to lord Elibank.

On the 26th of June, the armament prepared against Canada arrived at the island of Orleans, formed by the river St. Lawrence very near its northern bank, and extending to the mouth of Quebec harbour. The town is situated at the confluence of the rivers St. Lawrence and St. Charles. It consists of an upper and lower town. The lower town is situated upon a plain along the banks of the river; the upper on a bold and lofty eminence, that runs westward behind the plain, and parallel to the river. On the east is the river St. Charles, and on the north were deep woods. The French army, under the marquis of Montcalm, was posted on the eastern bank of the river St. Charles, extending to the Montmorenci, with thick woods to the north. From the strong situation of the city, the English general was aware that nothing but a decisive victory would procure him success. He endeavoured, therefore, to induce the French to come to battle. Montcalm, able and cautious, would not relinquish his advantageous post. Wolfe, therefore, determined to attack him in his entrenchments. On the 31st of July, he landed his forces, under cover of the cannon of his

Action near Quebec.

[k] Now marquis Townshend.

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fleet, near the western banks of the Montmorenci, and gave orders to his troops not to advance till the whole army was formed. The British grenadiers, notwithstanding these orders, rushed on to the attack, but were soon thrown into confusion by the enemy's fire, and compelled to retreat. The general advanced with the rest of the army; but the disorder occasioned by the retreat of the grenadiers, entirely disconcerted the plan of the attack, and general Wolfe was obliged to repass the river to the isle of St. Orleans. Our gallant general had, as we have already said, expected the co-operation of Amherst; but the career of that great officer, though successful, had not been so rapid as to enable him to proceed to Quebec. General Wolfe, in his dispatches to England, manifested that he knew and felt the difficulties of his situation. "We have (said he) almost the whole force of Canada to oppose. In such a choice of difficulties, I own myself at a loss how to determine. The affairs of Great Britain I know to require the most vigorous measures; but the courage of a handful of brave men should be exerted only where there is some hope of a favourable event." The repulse at Montmorenci made a deep impression on the English general. He had a very high sense of honour, and an ardent desire of military fame; he was aware that men judge of conduct from the event, much oftener than from the circumstances, intentions, and plans of the agent. Inferior as his force was, destitute of the expected aid, great as was the strength of the enemy and of the country with which he had to contend, he well knew that if unsuccessful he should incur censure and reproach. These considerations operated so powerfully on the susceptible mind of Wolfe, that it affected his constitution, naturally delicate and irritable, and produced a fever and dysentery. Feeble and distempered as he was, he determined either to effect his enterprise, or die in the attempt.

British repulsed.

Difficulties of the undertaking.

Anxiety of Wolfe.

Plans the surprise of the fortress.

He

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He formed a design manifesting great boldness of conception: this was, to land his troops above the city on the northern banks of the river, at the base of the heights of Abraham which covered the town, to scale those precipices, and gain possession of the eminence, in reliance on which the city was on that side but slightly fortified. Having communicated this scheme to admiral Saunders, it was concerted that they should sail up the river, and proceed several leagues farther up than the spot where they intended to land, with a design of returning down during the night. They fell down soon after it was dark (September 18th), and accomplished their disembarkation in secrecy and silence. Captain Cook, afterwards so famous as a circumnavigator, commanded the boats that were employed to land the troops. They proceeded to the precipice; Colonel Howe[l], with the light infantry and highlanders[m], ascended the rocks with admirable courage and activity, made themselves masters of a defile, and dislodged a guard that defended a small entrenched narrow path, by which alone our forces could reach the summit. The heroic general, regardless of the distemper which preyed on him, led up his troops, and arrayed them on the heights. With such dispatch was all this atchieved, that the besieged were ignorant of the attempt until it was completely effected. Montcalm being informed that the enemy had possessed these commanding heights, determined to hazard a battle, by which only he concluded the town could now be saved. He passed the river St. Charles, and advanced intrepidly to meet the English. General Wolfe, perceiving the approach of the enemy, formed his line of battle. Montcalm attempted to flank the left of the English, but was prevented by the skill and activity of brigadier Townshend, who presented a double front to the

gains the heights of Abraham;

and leads his army to battle.

Intrepid valour of the French,

[l] Afterwards Sir William.

[m] The forty-second regiment.

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enemy. A very warm engagement took place. General Wolfe, standing in the front of his line, inspired and directed his valiant soldiers. At this time the French had begun their fire at too great a distance to do much execution. The British forces reserved their shot until the enemy were very near, and then discharged with the most terrible effect. The whole army, and each individual corps, exerted themselves with the greatest intrepidity, activity, and skill. They had just succeeded in making an impression on the centre of the enemy, when their heroic general received a wound in the wrist. Pretending not to notice this, he wrapped his handkerchief round it, and proceeded with his orders, without the smallest emotion. Advancing at the head of his grenadiers, where the charge was thickest, a ball pierced his breast. Being obliged to retire to a little distance, when his surrounding friends were in the utmost anxiety about his wound, his sole concern was about the fate of the battle. A messenger arriving, he asked, "How are our troops?"—"The enemy are visibly broken." Almost faint, he reclined his head on the arm of an officer, when his faculties were aroused by the distant sound of "They fly!" Starting up, he called, "Who fly?"—"The French."—"What (said he, with exultation), do they fly already? then I die happy." So saying, he expired in the arms of victory.[n] Generals Monckton and Townshend, after the death of the commander in chief, continued the battle with unremitting ardour. Monckton being wounded, the command devolved upon Townshend. Though the English were greatly superior, the battle was still not completely gained. The British troops being somewhat disordered in their successful pursuit, the gene-

overpowered by English heroism.

The general wounded;

dies in the arms of victory.

[n] The circumstances of his death, so picturesque and glorious, naturally suggests to the historical reader a comparison with the death of Epaminondas at Mantinea, and of Gustavus Adolphus; and produced some pretty affecting poems in the English and Latin languages, both on the death of Wolfe, and its resemblance to that of the other heroes.

ral

ral marshalled them with great expedition. Montcalm, having exerted every means that could be employed by a skilful general and valiant soldier to rally and animate his troops, was mortally wounded. The French fled on all sides, and the British victory was complete. Quebec capitulated to general Townshend.

Quebec surrenders.

Some writers have endeavoured to attribute the success of this celebrated enterprise, in a considerable degree, to accident. There were, said they, sentinels disposed along the river, who might have discovered the approach of the British troops to the precipice of Abraham, and if they had made the discovery, could have given the alarm in time to prevent success. The amount of this reasoning is, that when a purpose is to be effected by dispatch, secrecy, and surprise, if these be not employed, the attempt will not be successful. The success of this design was owing to its probable impracticability. The enemy were not alarmed for the safety of a post which they deemed impregnable. The sagacity of our general penetrated into their sentiments, and he formed his project on the moral certainty of their secure inattention to that quarter. His reasoning was fair and just, in the circumstances of the case: the design originated in military genius: it was a very bold, and even a hazardous undertaking; but such attempts, the general history of wars, and of British wars in particular, would teach us to encourage; because, on the whole, they have been oftener successful than otherwise.

Causes of this signal atchievement.

The news of this glorious victory and important acquisition excited the most lively joy in England. Every honour was bestowed on the memory of the hero who had atchieved the conquest, and the warmest thanks were given to the generals and admirals who had been instrumental to its execution.

By the great and rapid successes of 1759, joined with and proceeding from the advantages of 1758, France

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France had not only been driven from her encroachments in North America, but deprived of her most valuable original possessions. Montreal and the rest of Canada still remained under her power, after the capture of Quebec.

1759.

1760. Campaign in America.

In the following campaign, the efforts of the French in that quarter of the globe were directed to the recapture of Quebec, which they determined to attempt early in the season, before the river should be open for the admission of the reinforcements about to arrive from England. General Murray, then governor of that city, took every precaution to maintain so important an acquisition.

The French attempt to recover Quebec;

As the French approached, being advantageously posted in the neighbourhood of Quebec, he determined, though inferior in number, to risk an engagement; hoping, through the bravery of his troops, for a success which would damp the spirits of the enemy; and knowing that, if disappointed, he could securely shelter himself in Quebec. Being unsuccessful, he retreated to that city, which was immediately invested by the enemy.

and are repulsed.

It being now the month of May, and the river open, intelligence arrived that the British fleet and troops were sailing up to Quebec. The French raised the siege with great precipitation, leaving their provisions, stores, and artillery, in the hands of the British. The governor-general of Canada now centered all his hopes in the defence of Montreal; which, concluding that it would be attacked by general Amherst, he strengthened with new fortifications; at the same time raising new levies of troops, and collecting large magazines of military stores. The English general, as the French governor apprehended, undertook the siege of Montreal; and, to facilitate his operations, reduced several small posts up the river.

General Murray completes the conquest of Canada.

Having arrived at Montreal, he was soon joined by general Murray from Quebec, and invested the place in September 1760.

The

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The French governor, despairing of relief, capitulated; and all Canada surrendered to the British arms. Thus did the ambition of France, after compelling this country to go to war by its unjust aggressions in North America, during the first years of hostilities, while the convulsions of our councils prevented effectual measures on our part for its suppression, prove successful; but when dissension yielded to unanimity, when incapacity gave way to genius, when wise counsel selected for the execution of its plans the ablest agents, and prompt and decisive vigour afforded the most effectual means of execution, the ambitious enemy was not only checked, but overthrown; France was deprived of her unjust acquisitions, and bereft of her most valuable ancient territories, which, but for her own aggression, she might have enjoyed unmolested. Such was the change effected during the three years that Mr. Pitt had presided at the helm of affairs; and such was our situation in America in October 1760.

Result of operations in America, in October 1760.

In Europe, though the first operations projected by Pitt had been unsuccessful, the disappointment was by all acknowledged not to have been owing to the want of adequate preparation, and the succeeding plans were attended with no less success than in America. Early in 1758, a new expedition was projected against the coast of France, the object of which was to destroy the maritime power of the enemy. By the latter end of May two squadrons were ready; one consisting of eleven ships of the line, under lord Anson and Sir Edward Hawke, to watch the motions of the Brest fleet; the other consisting of four ships of the line with seven frigates, commanded by commodore Richard Howe, to convoy the transports that carried the land-forces, consisting of sixteen battalions, and nine troops of light horse, destined for the coast of Normandy, under the command of Charles duke of

Affairs of Europe.

Expedition to the coast of Normandy.

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of Marlborough. They sailed from Portsmouth on the 1st of June *, and landed on the 5th in Castle Bay, on the coast of Brittany; thence they marched to St. Maloes, the principal harbour on the channel for privateers, and which greatly distressed the English trade. Finding that place too strong to be taken by assault, they contented themselves with setting fire to about a hundred sail of shipping, the greater number of them privateers, and to several magazines filled with naval stores. From the coast of Brittany they sailed across the bay towards Normandy, but were prevented by a violent storm from effecting a landing. They returned to St. Helen's to refit; and, the duke of Marlborough being called to another service, general Bligh was appointed to command the land-forces. In August the armament again sailed to the coast of Normandy, and anchored before Cherburg. This place, in the midst of the Channel, well situated for protecting the commerce of France, for annoying that of England, and even for facilitating an invasion, had been strongly fortified. The English armament attacked and captured the town, destroyed the harbour and bason, (a work of much ingenuity, charge, and labour,) razed the fortifications, and took considerable quantities of ordnance, and naval and military stores. Again attempting St. Maloes, the English army met with a check at St. Cas, on which they returned to England.

Naval transactions.

THE naval operations in Europe in 1758 were not decisively important, though Britain had a manifest superiority. Sir Edward Hawke and lord Anson almost annihilated the French trade on the western coasts. In the Mediterranean, Admiral Osborn dispersed the French fleet off Carthagena, and established the superiority of the English in that part of the world. This year the English navy was also

* A day, thirty-six years after, so auspicious to the naval glory of England and Howe.

successful

successful in Africa. Mr. Cumming, an African merchant, of the sect of quakers, presented to the minister a plan for the reduction of Fort Louis on the river Senegal. This project being approved, a small squadron was equipped under the command of commodore Marsh. Mr. Cumming[p] went on board that officer's ship, in order to forward and guide the expedition. Some armed vessels that opposed the British at their entrance into the river, dispersed; and the fort and adjoining factory surrendered. In the latter end of the year, a British squadron commanded by commodore Keppel, made an attack on the island of Goree, situated southward of the Senegal, and compelled it to surrender, notwithstanding its being defended by two forts, and batteries amounting to above a hundred pieces of cannon. During the attack, the African shores were covered by multitudes of the natives, who expressed by loud clamours and uncouth gesticulations, their astonishment at the terrible effects of European artillery.

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In 1759, greater naval preparations were made than in the former year. Admiral Boscawen, being now returned from America, was appointed to command a British fleet in the Mediterranean. The French had prepared powerful armaments both at Toulon and Brest. Boscawen blocked up the enemy's fleet at Toulon; but, being obliged to return to Gibraltar to refit, the French took the opportunity of putting to sea, hoping to pass the Straits, and join the Brest fleet. Admiral Boscawen, having now refitted his damaged ships, prepared to meet the enemy. On the 18th of August, having come up with them off Cape Lagos in Portugal, he entirely defeated the hostile fleet; and four ships of the line surrendered to the British.

Signal victory of Boscawen off Cape Lagos.

[p] Mr. Cumming defended his conduct as perfectly consonant to his religious principles, affirming himself to have been previously persuaded that it would prove a bloodless conquest.

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THE French were making great preparations, with an intention, as it was thought, of invading either Britain or Ireland. Intelligence being received that a number of flat-bottomed boats were ready at Havre de Grace, for the purpose, as it was conceived, of landing their troops, Admiral Rodney was sent, in the beginning of July, with a squadron of ships and bombs to the coast of Normandy. Anchoring in the road of Havre, he commenced the bombardment, burnt a considerable part of the town, destroyed many of their boats, and consumed a quantity of their stores.

THE principal preparations, however, were making at Brest, where a formidable fleet was equipped under admiral Conflans. Against that force the chief fleet of England was directed under Sir Edward Hawke; who arrived on the coast of France before the Brest fleet had left the harbour, and blocking them up, long prevented them from sailing.

IN the beginning of November, the British fleet was by stress of weather driven from the coast of France, and compelled to anchor at Torbay. The French admiral seized the opportunity of sailing from Brest, with twenty-one ships of the line and four frigates. Informed of their departure, Hawke sailed in pursuit of them, and arrived in Quiberon Bay, which the enemy had then reached. The French admiral retired close to shore, with a view to draw the English squadron among the shoals and islands, on which he expected they would be wrecked; while he himself and his officers, perfectly acquainted with the navigation of the place, could either stay and take advantage of the disaster, or, if necessary, retire through channels unknown to the British pilots. The days were now very short, the weather was extremely tempestuous, and there was the farther disadvantage of a lee-shore. Admiral Hawke, not deterred by a lee-shore even during the storms of winter, pursued, and at three

in

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in the afternoon, attacked the enemy with that adventurous boldness which has generally marked British warriors, and been so often productive of British success. Sir Edward, in the Royal George, ordered the master to bring him along-side of the French admiral, who commanded on board the Soleil Royal. The pilot remonstrated on the danger of obeying the command, as there was a great probability that they would run upon a shoal. "You have done your duty (replied the admiral) in shewing the danger; now you are to comply with orders, and lay me along-side of the Soleil Royal." The command was obeyed, and the battle became general. Four of the French ships were burnt or sunk during the action, and one was taken; the intervention of night only prevented the destruction of the whole French fleet. The next day another ship, being stranded on the shoals, was burnt. This victory gave a finishing blow to the naval power of the enemy, and prevented them from making any important attempt during the remainder of the war.[q]

In 1760, Admirals Hawke and Boscawen were alternately stationed in Quiberon Bay and the adjacent coasts, thereby employing a great body of French forces, under the idea that an invasion was intended; and several advantages were gained. Admiral Rodney destroyed a considerable quantity of shipping, both mercantile and warlike; but as the enemy had only an inconsiderable fleet, no important exploit was atchieved in those seas. The most noted enterprises in the channel, or adjacent oceans, in the year 1760, were those in which the famous Thurot headed the army. This bold and enterprising adventurer, in the beginning of the

Thurot.

[q] The English, from the beginning of the war, had already taken and destroyed twenty-seven French ships of the line, and thirty-one frigates; and two of their great ships with four frigates, perished; so that their whole loss, in this particular, amounted to sixty-four: whereas the loss of Great Britain did not exceed seven sail of the line, and five frigates.

War,

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war, had been master of a Dunkirk privateer. In 1758, he had with his ship [r] done great execution in the north seas; had taken numbers of merchantmen; and had once maintained an obstinate engagement against two English frigates, and compelled them to desist from their attack. Becoming known to the court of Versailles, he was in 1759 employed to command a small armament, fitting out in the harbour of Dunkirk. Toward the end of that year he sailed, designing to invade Scotland or Ireland, as opportunity might serve. Commodore Boys pursued him to the north seas, but was obliged to put into Leith for a supply of provisions, during which time Thurot escaped his reach. Being overtaken by a storm, he parted company with one of his thirty-gun ships, and was driven into Bergen, where he was detained by stress of weather nineteen days; after which time he sailed for the western islands of Scotland, with a view to proceed to the north of Ireland. The weather, however, again becoming stormy, he parted from his twenty-four gun ship; and being entreated by his officers to return with his now diminished force, declared that he would not again shew himself in France until he had struck some blow for the service of his country. Landing in the island of Isla, one of the Hebrides, he behaved with much moderation and generosity, paying a fair price for cattle and other provisions which he found there. Meanwhile this adventurer had alarmed all the coasts of Britain and Ireland. Regular troops and militia were posted in various places where it was thought that he would most probably attempt a landing. Commodore Boys pursued him round the Orkneys, while ships of war were ordered to scour St. George's Channel, in order to intercept his return. In February 1760, sailing from Isla, he proceeded to the bay of Car-

[r] Called the Belleisle, and carrying forty-four guns.

rickfe gus.

rickfergus. On the 21st of that month, he effected a landing and attacked the town, which colonel Jennings, with a force greatly inferior, defended with intrepidity and skill, and made an obstinate resistance; and even after the enemy had taken one part of the town, continued to defend the remainder*, but was at last obliged to yield to the force of the enemy. He surrendered by capitulation, by which he preserved the castle from attack. Meanwhile, the Irish militia assembling from all the neighbouring districts, Thurot found it necessary to depart. CHAP. I. 1760.

At this time captain John Elliot, a young officer who had already greatly distinguished himself by acts of valour, having sailed from Kinsale with three frigates, was on his way to meet Thurot. On the 28th of February he descried him off the Isle of Man, and immediately gave signal for battle, in which Thurot very readily engaged. Both sides fought very valiantly, but the Britons carried the day. The adventurous hero was killed, and his ships surrendered themselves to the conquerors. The name of Thurot had become so terrible to merchants, that the defeat and capture of his squadron were celebrated with as hearty rejoicings as the most important victory could have produced.

The West Indies, at the commencement of the war, had been but little attended to by an administration, equally narrow in its views as feeble in its resolutions. Commodore Frankland had been sent, in 1755, with four ships of the line; and Admiral Cotes had, in the beginning of 1757, taken the command: but nothing material had been done. Toward the end of 1757, a British squadron, much in- West Indies.

* The following note, which I transcribe from Smollet's History, will, I doubt not, be acceptable to my readers, as a striking instance of the union of courage and humanity. "While the French and English were hotly engaged in one of the streets, a little child ran playfully between them, having no idea of the danger to which it was exposed: a common soldier of the enemy, perceiving the life of this poor innocent at stake, grounded his piece, advanced deliberately between the lines of the fire, took up the child in his arms, and conveyed it to a place of safety; then returning to his place, resumed his musket, and renewed his hostility."

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ferior to the French in point of force, engaged them off Cape François, and forced them to retreat in a scattered condition. Several other actions took place, but these were unimportant in the result.

THE comprehensive genius of Mr. Pitt was directed with vigour and effect, not to a part, but to the whole interests of his country. He attacked the enemy in every quarter where they could be annoyed by attack. He proposed, in 1758, to send an expedition against the French settlements in the West Indies, and a strong armament was equipped under general Hobson and commodore Moore, who commanded the land and sea forces. They arrived in the West Indies at the latter end of 1758. Martinico was the first object of their destination; but, finding that island very strongly defended, they proceeded to Guadaloupe, thirty leagues to the westward. Arriving there on the 23d of January, they made a general attack upon the citadel, the town, and the various batteries by which it was defended. The enemy made an obstinate resistance; but, their cannon being at last silenced, the British troops were enabled to land; on which the French abandoned the town and its fortifications. In the interior parts of Guadaloupe a vigorous resistance was made, but at length proved ineffectual. The whole island was conquered, and the neighbouring islands of Descada and Marigalante surrendered themselves to the British arms. Though, in 1760, the operations of Britain in the West Indies were not so splendid as in the preceding year, they were far from being unimportant. A dangerous insurrection took place among the slaves in Jamaica, which was suppressed, not without great difficulty. The British completely protected the trade of their country, annoyed that of the enemy, and destroyed or took numbers of French privateers, and several ships of war. On the whole, they had in that quarter gained valuable acquisitions from the enemy, and so completely established their superiority, as to have paved the way for future conquest.

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THE same general policy which directed France to her encroachments in America, had also extended to India; but, that we may have a clear view of the operations and events in that quarter, it is necessary to consider the state of our settlements and those of the French, at the time when our narrative begins. Immense have been the accessions to British power and influence in that country, during the period of which our history treats; but of both progress and results we can judge only by first taking a view of the outset.

AT the conclusion of the peace of Aix la Chapelle, the possessions of the English in India were merely commercial factories, guarded by forts near the sea-coast, or on the great navigable rivers. They had penetrated very little into the interior parts of the country, except on the banks of the Ganges. At this time, England had, on the Malabar, or western coast of the Peninsula, possessed Surat, at no great distance from the mouth of the Indus, and the most northern settlement on that coast. Proceeding southward, their next factory was Bombay, situated on a small island. After that came Tillicherry, fifteen leagues from which was Calicut. The last and most southern settlement which they possessed on the Malabar coast, was Anjengo. Doubling Cape Comorin, and coming to the coast of Coromandel, the first English establishment that met the sailor was Fort St. David's. Farther to the northward, was the principal possession on the eastern coast, Fort St. George, called Madras, from its contiguity to that city, which, with several villages in the vicinity, was purchased in the last century, by the East India company, from the king of Golconda. Still farther to the northward, was the chief British settlement in India, Fort William, close to the town of Calcutta, situated in the kingdom of Bengal, on the Hoogley, a branch of the Ganges. Beside these settlements, the English had several interior factories for the purposes of trade, which

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were secured by forts. They had also settlements at Bencoolen, and other parts of India beyond the Ganges.

Designs and proceedings of the French.

THE principal French possession was the city of Pondicherry, on the Coromandel coast, between Forts St. David and St. George. This was a large and populous town. On the Malabar coast they had also established factories at Surat and Calicut, and at Rajapore. On the Ganges they had a factory at Chandernagore, above Calcutta.

WHEN peace was concluded at Aix la Chapelle, M. Dupleix was the French governor-general in India. He was a man of great ability and soaring ambition, who projected the establishment of the empire of France in Hindostan. For that purpose he embraced the same policy which had been adopted by his countrymen in America, of stirring up the natives against the British settlers. All the provinces and kingdoms of Hindostan had belonged to the empire of the Mogul; but his power had been so much reduced by Kouli-Khan, that he was not able to assert his former authority over such extensive dominions. The princes that had been tributary, and even the subahs and nabobs, who had been governors appointed by him, his own officers and servants, now refused to aknowledge his superiority, and asserted their independent supremacy over their respective territories. These princes or chieftains very often quarrelled with one another, and naturally solicited the assistance of European settlers in their neighbourhood; while the Europeans, on the other hand, endeavoured to interest the native princes in their contests. Dupleix, seeing that they might be useful tools in the execution of his project, paid great court to these chiefs, especially such of them as shewed themselves bold and unprincipled adventurers. Nizam Amuluck, the subah or viceroy of Decan, having officially the appointment of a nabob or governor of Arcot, had nominated Anaverdi-Khan to that office.

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The viceroy dying, was succeeded by his son Nazirzing, whom the Mogul confirmed. Between the subah and the English at Fort St. George, there was an amicable intercourse. Dupleix supported a pretender to the office, Muza Pherzing, cousin to the other; and found means to engage Chunda Saib, an enterprising adventurer, in favour of the pretender, against the legally constituted viceroy.[t] A body of English troops advanced; the French, afraid of an engagement, retired. The pretender, abandoned by his own army, threw himself on the mercy of his cousin, who spared his life, but for his own security kept him in confinement. Dupleix, disappointed in his project of raising by his own force an usurper who would be subservient to his designs, formed a conspiracy against the viceroy's life. The chief conspirators were his prime minister and two of his nabobs. Encouraged and stimulated by the Frenchman, they murdered their master, and, releasing the cousin, proclaimed him viceroy of Decan. The usurper associated M. Dupleix with himself in the government. In the tents of the murdered viceroy they found an immense treasure, of which a great share fell to Dupleix, the promoter of the crime. The usurping colleagues in the viceroyalty attacked the nabob of Arcot, who was legally appointed by the royal viceroy, and under the protection of the English presidency at Madras. They dispossessed him of his government, and appointed Chunda Saib, their own agent, nabob of Arcot. The English, considering these proceedings as an aggression on their ally, and as tending to raise the French influence to a very dangerous height, sent a considerable force to repel the usurper and his French auxiliaries. The British troops were commanded by the celebrated Clive. This gentleman had entered into the service of the East India Company as a writer; but, being

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[t] See Smollet's Continuation, vol. iii. p. 402.

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formed for more arduous situations, and desirous of a military life, he had offered his services in that capacity, and was employed to command in this expedition. With such resolution, secrecy, and dispatch, did he proceed, that the enemy knew nothing of his approach until he was actually before their capital; and the capture of Arcot, an important acquisition to the British interest, was farther memorable, from being the first occasion in which Clive displayed his extraordinary talents. Meanwhile, the usurper of the Decan having been murdered, Sallabah Sing, the younger of the two brothers of the former viceroy, was proclaimed by M. Dupleix, in opposition to the elder, who had been appointed by the Mogul, and supported by the English. The usurper, finding means to cut off his brother by poison, and considering himself as undoubted viceroy, made a grant to M. Dupleix of all the English possessions north from Pondicherry, consequently including Madras. Dupleix was, in 1753, preparing to avail himself of this grant, when he was recalled to Europe, and a successor appointed. Sieur Godeheu, the new French governor, being of a less daring character than Dupleix, did not venture to carry his designs into execution, but proceeded more secretly against the English interest, by stimulating the native princes to hostilities. While he was pursuing these measures, he professed the most pacific intentions, and even concluded a provincial treaty with the presidency of Madras. War, however, soon commenced in the Carnatic; and there the English, commanded by general Stringer Lawrence, were on the whole successful. But a severe blow was struck against them in another quarter of India, a blow which may be traced to the artifices and intrigues of the French. Alli Verdi Khan, subah of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, a man of great abilities, having died in April 1756, was succeeded by his adopted son, Sou Rajah Dowla, a young man

Capture of Calcutta.

weak in his understanding, violent in his passions, and profligate in his morals. The old viceroy, on his death-bed, had exhorted Dowla to bend his principal attention to the reduction of the English. Impressed with these ideas, the young subah, soon after his accession, marched to Calcutta, and summoned the fort and city to surrender. Mr. Holwell the governor, with a few officers, and a very feeble garrison, maintained the city and fort with uncommon resolution and courage against several attacks, until he was overpowered by numbers, and the enemy had forced their way into the castle. He then submitted, the subah having promised, on the word of a soldier, that no injury should be done to him or his garrison. Nevertheless, they were all driven, to the number of a hundred and forty-six persons of both sexes, into a place called the Black-hole prison, a cube of about eighteen feet, in which there was hardly any current of air. Here they were exposed to a scene of as cruel distress as can be conceived; most of them died in the greatest agony, but Mr. Holwell and a few others came out alive.

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Colonel Clive was at this time employed in the Company's service in another part of India. On the Malabar coast, he and admiral Watson reduced Angria, a piratical prince, who had been extremely formidable to all those countries. Returning in triumph to Madras, they concerted measures for the restoration of the British affairs in Bengal. On the 1st of January 1757, the Company's armament arrived off Calcutta. The admiral, with two ships, attacked the town, and, though opposed by the enemy's batteries, in two hours silenced their guns; on which, as fast as possible, they abandoned the place and fort. Colonel Clive attacked the town in another quarter, and by his intrepid conduct facilitated the reduction of the settlement. Soon after he attacked and took Hoogley, a city of great trade, and containing immense stores, magazines,

Clive restores the British interest.

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and riches, belonging to the subah. The viceroy of Bengal advanced with an army of 20,000 horse and 15,000 foot, being resolved to expel the English out of his dominions. On the 2d of February, he arrived opposite the English camp, within a mile of Calcutta. Clive, being reinforced from the fleet, drew up his army, and attacked the enemy so vigorously, that the viceroy retreated with the loss of a thousand men killed or taken prisoners, and a great number of horses, with all their spoils. Intimidated by his defeat, the viceroy, on the 9th of February, made a peace, the general principle of which was, that the factories and possessions taken from the English company should be restored; that their losses should be completely compensated; that whatever rights and privileges had in any former time been granted by the Mogul, should be confirmed and established for the future; and that the English should have the liberty to fortify Calcutta in any manner which they should judge expedient. Having concluded this treaty with the viceroy, colonel Clive and admiral Watson turned their victorious arms against the French, and attacked their fortress and factory at Chandernagore, situated farther up the Ganges than Calcutta, strongly fortified, and the most important settlement of the French at Bengal. It was garrisoned by five hundred Europeans and twelve hundred natives. Clive, now reinforced by troops from Bombay, invested the place on the land-side; admirals Watson and Pococke attacked it on the Ganges; their united efforts soon compelled the enemy to submit, and the place was surrendered. The ammunition, stores, effects, and money, found in Chandernagore, were very considerable; but the chief advantage of the conquest arose from depriving the enemy of their principal settlement on the Ganges, which had greatly interfered with the English commerce on that river. The viceroy was far from being pleased with the progress

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progress of the English. He, indeed, discovered a great partiality towards the French, and evidently shewed an intention of joining them as soon as he should be prepared for hostilities. He evaded the performance of the articles of the treaty which he had so lately signed, and concerted with French agents to attack the English, while they promised him the assistance of such a body of European troops as would enable him to drive them out of his vicinity. Mr. Watts, a man of ability, was then English resident at the viceroy's court, and possessed considerable influence with the subah's ministers. He not only learned, and was able to communicate to the council of Calcutta, the intentions of the subah, but found means to form a party against him in his own country. The subah, by all the arrogant insolence of a mean and despicable mind in high power, had provoked the enmity of the chief men in his court and army. A plan was concerted for depriving him of his power, and conducted by Meer Jaffier Ally Khan, his near ally by marriage, prime minister and chief commander of the army. The project being communicated to Mr. Watts, he sent intelligence of it to the Company, and by the Company's authority concluded a treaty with the malcontents for depriving Dowlah of a power which he was trying to render destructive to the English interest. Colonel Clive, strongly urged by Jaffier, took the field to assist the malcontents. The English commander, with a handful of troops, began his march. Crossing the Ganges, he advanced to Plassey, within one day's march of Moorshedabad, the capital of Bengal. There he found the viceroy encamped with seventy thousand men, in all the feeble magnificence which eastern effeminacy has in all ages brought against European hardiness, courage, and resources of intellect. The elephants, with their scarlet housings, the rich and variegated embroidery of their tents and standards, the

Treachery of the viceroy.

Clive takes the field.

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the glittering parade and costly decorations of their cavalry, their gilded canopies, equalled any of the pageantry which a Persian satrap or king ever brought against the wisdom, strength, or valour of Greece or Macedon. The subah, as weak and timid in difficulty and danger, as insolent and overbearing in safety and prosperity, now courted the forgiveness and friendship of Meer Jaffier; and, believing that he had prevailed, gave him the command of his left wing. Colonel Clive, with about three thousand two hundred men, advanced against more than twenty times that number. Jaffier took no part whatever in the action; the rest of the Indian troops were completely defeated, with the loss on the side of the conquerors of only seventy men. Colonel Clive, with wise policy, forbearing to express any resentment against the part which Jaffier from indecision and double treachery had acted, saw that he would be a useful tool in the hands of England. He saluted him subah of the three provinces, and exhorted him to pursue his march to Moorshedabad, engaging to follow him immediately with his army. Arriving at the capital, colonel Clive deposed Surajah Dowlah, and with great solemnity substituted in his place Jaffier, who was publicly acknowledged by the people as viceroy of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. Jaffier put to death his predecessor, and granted to his allies and supporters the English, all the conditions on compliance with which they granted his viceroyalty. He paid into the treasury of the Company a crore of rupees [u], as an indemnification for their losses at Calcutta, and ceded to them a considerable territory in the vicinity of that city. Thus, in the space of fourteen days, a great revolution was effected, and the command of a country superior in extent, fruitfulness, riches, and population to most European

Battle of Plassey. Victory of the English.

Revolution in Bengal, and Jaffier made viceroy.

[u] A rupee is about 2*s.* 6*d.*; a lack is 100,000 rupees, that is, about 12,500*l.*; a crore is a hundred lacks; consequently, 1,250,000*l.*

kingdoms,

kingdoms, was, by a handful of troops who were headed by an officer bred to a civil profession and not instructed in the art of war, transferred to a company of merchants residing in one of the most remote corners of the globe. Thus ended the war with Surajah Dowlah, in which the viceroy of Bengal was not only the aggressor, but had to the utmost extent of his power perpetrated the most atrocious cruelties. The subsequent conduct of Clive was necessary to procure justice to his injured country. After the subah had concluded a peace, which restored to the English their rights, and indemnified them for their wrongs, he immediately entered into a concert with their enemies for violating the peace, and depriving them of their long established possessions and privileges; but being as weak as wicked, he fell a sacrifice to his own ill-conducted villany.

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While the northern provinces of India engrossed the principal attention of the Company's council and officers, the French took advantage of the temporary absence of their forces from the coast of Coromandel, and attacked Ingeram, Vizagapatam, and other settlements in that quarter.

In 1758 large reinforcements arrived under M. Lally with a strong squadron under M. d'Apche, and the enemy projected the entire conquest of the English possessions on that coast. They invested Fort St. David's in the south part of the Carnatic, and, before an English force could arrive to its assistance, compelled it to surrender. Lally also attacked Tanjore, because the rajah had distinguished himself as the zealous and faithful ally of the English. The French general demanded of him a sum of money which would have amounted to 810,000 *l.* Being refused, he invested the city; but the rajah's native troops, assisted by British engineers, made so vigorous a defence, that the French general was repulsed with loss, and obliged to

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to raise the siege. Retreating northwards from Tanjore, he took possession of the city of Arcot, and made preparations for the siege of Madras. The English were at this time so much surpassed in land-force, that during the remainder of the campaign they acted on the defensive.

Naval operations in the Indian seas.

THE same year Admiral Pococke succeeded to the command of the British fleets in India, on the death of Admiral Watson. On the 26th of March, he came up with the enemy's ships in the road of Fort St. David's, and attacked them in the afternoon. D'Apche having fought warmly for two hours, in the evening retreated. The misbehaviour of three of his captains [x] prevented Pococke from a successful pursuit. The next day he learned, that the enemy had lost a ship of the line, which had been damaged in the engagement. About five hundred of the enemy were killed or wounded, and scarcely one hundred of the English. This was the first action ever fought between a British and French fleet in the Indian seas; and, notwithstanding the disadvantages under which admiral Pococke laboured, it was auspicious to England.

ADMIRAL Pococke having gone into harbour, to repair the damage incurred by his fleet; as soon as he was refitted, set sail again in quest of the enemy. Having cruised for several weeks, he found them on the 27th of July at anchor in Pondicherry road. On descrying the English fleet, the French unmoored and fled. Pococke closely pursuing the enemy, could not come up with them till the 3d of August, when, having obtained the weather-gage, he bore down on them in order of battle. The engagement began with great fury on both sides; but in a short time the French retreated towards Pondicherry. Night intervening, they escaped; but their ships were so much damaged, that they were obliged to

British successful.

[x] Two of the English captains being tried, were dismissed the service; and the third was deprived of his rank as post captain for one year.

sail

sail to the Mauritius to refit, and thus leave to England the sovereignty of the Indian seas. CHAP. I.

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But the completion of British victory over the French in India was reserved for the glorious 1759. In the month of December 1758, Lally began his march towards Madras, and in the beginning of January commenced the investment of that important fortress. The besieged, though inferior to him in strength, made a gallant defence. The event was for some weeks doubtful; but a considerable reinforcement of troops and stores arriving, conducted by captain Kempenfelt, M. Lally raised the siege, and retreated to Arcot, extremely chagrined at his ill-success.

About the same time a detachment under colonel Ford dispossessed the French of Vizagapatam and Masulipatam. The subah of the Decan, who had been favourable to the French as long as they appeared superior, finding the English now so powerful in his neighbourhood, proposed a treaty to the government of Madras. An alliance was accordingly concluded, by which he renounced all connexion with France, and ceded the entire circar of Masulipatam to the Company; who, on their part, engaged not to assist or countenance the subah's enemies.

Colonel Coote now commanded the English forces in the Carnatic, and, being able to act on the offensive, proceeded against Lally. Having gained several advantages over the enemy, he endeavoured to bring him to a general engagement, which he effected at Wandwalsh. In this battle[y] the English gained a great and important victory, which decided the fate of French India on the Coromandel coast. Lally, with the remainder of his troops, re-

[y] From the detail of this engagement, to be found in Smollet, it appears, that great valour was displayed on both sides; but that the French general was rash and impetuous; and that the victory of the English was owing to colonel Coote's superior skill.

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tired to Pondicherry. The British general recovered Arcot; and, except Pondicherry, the French had now no settlement of any importance in the Carnatic.

Conquest of Arcot.

THE conquest of Arcot finished the [z] campaign. Admiral Pococke, during the same campaign, again defeated the French, and compelled them to leave those seas. On the Malabar coast, a squadron of English, under captain Richard Maitland, made themselves masters of the factory of Surat.

THUS we have seen French aggression, after being for a time successful, rousing British energy, and producing British victory; we have seen her attempts to exalt herself by humbling England, lead to her own humiliation, and the aggrandizement of her rival; and we have seen her unjust and unwarrantable ambition discomfited. Such was the state of affairs where Britain was engaged for herself solely; we must now follow her to her co-operation with allies.

Transactions in Europe of Britain with her allies.

WE left Frederic in winter-quarters, after the campaign of 1757, that glorious æra in his history. In England, the king of Prussia, since the dissolution of his political connexion with France, and his alliance with this country, had become a very popular character. This predilection rose to enthusiasm, on his gaining the victory at Rosebach over the ancient enemy of Britain. The union of the two catholic powers was by many considered as a confederacy to oppress and subvert the protestant interest in Germany. The English applauded and extolled Frederic as the protestant hero, and, anxious for his success, were willing to contribute toward his support and defence. Mr. Pitt, having taken a view of the state of affairs on the Continent, as well as the whole operations of the year, saw that the strenuous efforts of Britain were necessary to preserve the balance of power; and that exertions

Comprehensive and energetic policy of Mr. Pitt.

[z] The campaign somewhat exceeded the boundaries of 1759, Arcot being taken in the beginning of February 1760.

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in Germany, by employing the strength of France in that quarter, would weaken her operations in America. He therefore proposed that a strong army should co-operate with the king of Prussia in Germany in the ensuing campaign. A subsidiary treaty was concluded, by which the king of England stipulated to pay into the hands of his Prussian majesty, the annual sum of 670,000*l.*, to be employed at his discretion for the good of the common cause; and parliament cheerfully voted the necessary supplies for that object, and other purposes of the war.

THE convention of Cloister-seven was considered as a disgrace to the nation, and also as infringed by the subsequent conduct of the French in Hanover. The army, which had been dispersed by that treaty, was re-assembled in British pay, and the command, by the advice of Mr. Pitt, bestowed on prince Ferdinand of Brunswic; whose object in the campaign of 1758 was to drive eighty thousand French troops from Lower Saxony and Westphalia. His own forces at the beginning of the campaign consisted of only thirty thousand Hanoverians, but they were afterwards joined by the troops of Hesse-Cassel and Brunswic, whom England engaged by subsidies to assist in the deliverance of Germany. The plan of operations concerted with Frederic was, to compel the enemy to evacuate Brunswic and Hanover, through the fear of having their communication with the Rhine intercepted. For these purposes he sent in March two detachments to the Weser, of which one gained possession of Verden, the other, under the command of his nephew the hereditary prince, took possession of the strong and important post of Floyer.

Operations in Brunswic, under prince Ferdinand.

In April, prince Ferdinand himself, crossing the Aller, advanced south towards Brunswic, assisted by a detachment of Prussian troops under prince Henry, the king's brother. M. Clermont, who had succeeded Richlieu in the command of the French

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French forces, apprehensive of being cut off from his intercourse with the Rhine, evacuated Brunswic, Wolfenbuttle, and Hanover, and marched to Westphalia. Crossing the Weser, Ferdinand besieged Minden, and took it in sight of the enemy's army. Count Clermont now retreated towards the Rhine; repassed it at Wesel in May; and stationed the army on the left bank of the river, after having lost a number of his troops, which were taken in the retreat. Ferdinand would not suffer them to remain undisturbed within the boundaries of Germany. In June, he attacked them at Crevelt near Cleves, and gained a victory more glorious to his military character than decisive in its consequences. The prince of Soubise, who commanded a considerable body of French, having defeated a detachment of Hessians, Ferdinand was obliged to act on the defensive, and the affairs of France began to wear a more favourable aspect. In July, twelve thousand British troops arriving from England under the command of the duke of Marlborough to reinforce the allies, Ferdinand now resumed his offensive operations. Through his judicious, well-planned, and well-executed movements, he completely effected the object of the campaign, by driving the French out of Lower Saxony and Westphalia.[a]

On the Rhine.

Battle of Crevelt.

Exploits of Frederic.

THE king of Prussia now endeavoured to make the utmost advantage of the victories which he had gained at the close of the preceding campaign. Of Silesia, the fortress of Schweidnitz alone remained in the hands of Austria. This place, which was blockaded during winter, on the return of spring he attacked by a regular siege. Commencing his works on the 2d of April, he on the 15th carried the garrison by assault. Having thus completely recovered Silesia, he invaded Moravia, and besieged Olmutz its capital; but, having opened the trenches at too great a distance from

[a] Smollet, vol. iv. p. 349.

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the town, he spent his time and ammunition uselessly; and Count Daun arriving, obliged him to raise the siege. Meanwhile the Russians and Cossacks had invaded Brandenburg, and were committing the most barbarous ravages. Their army being divided into two parts, it was Frederic's object to come between them, so as to cut off their communication with each other. In this design he succeeded; and was able to bring Romanzow, with the principal division, to battle at Kustrin.[b] The ready genius of the Prussian king, on perceiving the disposition of the Russian troops, formed his men in such a way, as to bear with his artillery on their thick mass, and prevent the parts of their army from supporting each other. Success followed his attempt; he gained a most decisive victory; and the loss of the enemy amounted to 17,000 men, with a great quantity of cannon and stores: the loss, on the side of the Prussians, amounted to about 1200 men. Having thus freed his country from the danger of the Russians, he hastened against the Austrians under Marshal Daun. On the 14th of October, he was surprised by that general at Hoch-kirchin[c]; suffered a defeat, but not decisive; acted with such ability, as to prevent the enemy from deriving any material advantage from a victory; and ultimately compelled Daun to retire into Bohemia. The Russians and Swedes were also obliged to withdraw to Stralsund.

Defeats the Russians at Kustrin.

In 1759, prince Ferdinand took the field against the French, who had again invaded Westphalia in great force, under Messrs. De Contades and Broglio. Prince Ferdinand in July found them posted at Minden. The prince thinking the enemy too strongly posted to render an attack by him wise, took a position at some distance, hoping to provoke them to commence an assault, which he was well

French invade Westphalia.

[b] Gillies. [c] Smollet.

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1760. Ferdinand and the British *infantry* gain a signal victory at Minden.

prepared to resist. The French generals very imprudently left their own strong posts to attack prince Ferdinand. The battle began at dawn, and was fought with great impetuosity on both sides till noon; when the vigour, firmness, and courage of the English INFANTRY determined the fate of the day, and gained a complete victory. The British *cavalry*, commanded by lord George Sackville, were ordered to advance, and bear down upon the enemy when routed and flying. *They did not advance, and were of no service in the battle.*[d] The same day, the hereditary prince of Brunswic, who was fast rising to military eminence, having been sent by his uncle against a detachment of French at Gofeldt with six thousand men, defeated twice that number of the enemy, killed three thousand, and took as many prisoners. These successes enabled Ferdinand to drive the French a second time out of Germany, and to leave the allies in possession of every province and town which belonged to them at the declaration of war.

French driven out of Germany.

THE campaign of 1759 was far from being equally prosperous to the Prussian monarch. Beside the formidable enemies that he had to encounter abroad, he was distracted at home by dissensions among his generals. It was the object of the Austrians and Russians, who had before fought separately, to form a junction this campaign. Frederic's first purpose was to prevent this junction, and to attack one division before they could be supported by another; but the disorders among the generals prevented them from acting with their usual skill and alacrity. The Prussians were defeated, on the 23d of June, at Kay on the Oder, with the loss of more than four thousand men. This disaster disconcerted the king's measures, and was the prelude to a much

Losses of the king of Prussia.

[d] His lordship's conduct on this occasion underwent an inquiry and a trial. He alleged in his defence, that contradictory orders had been sent. This allegation, however, was not made out to the satisfaction of the court; the issue was, that he was declared unfit for serving his majesty in a military capacity.

greater

greater defeat. The Austrians and Russians, soon after this battle, joined their forces, and encamped at Kundersdorf, near Frankfort on the Oder. On the 12th of August, the king of Prussia attacked the enemy, and had almost succeeded in defeating the Russians, when the intervention of marshal Loudohn and the Austrian army gave a fatal turn to affairs. Notwithstanding the extraordinary efforts of the king, who exposed himself in the most dangerous parts of the field, had two horses shot under him, and his clothes rent by musket balls, the Prussians were completely defeated and dispersed; the approach of night saved their army from total ruin.[e] The pressure of calamity served only to increase the elastic force of Frederic's genius. He recruited his army with indefatigable diligence, replaced his artillery from the arsenal of Berlin, and soon found himself at the head of a considerable body of troops. But the jealousies between the Russians and Austrians concurred with the active ability of Frederic. When Daun proposed to pursue the enemy, the Russian general would not consent; and the time was wasted without any important effort, until winter gave the Prussian monarch some respite for restoring his affairs.

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In 1760, the court of Versailles made great preparations for recovering their footing in Westphalia. The hereditary prince, in April, having assailed the count De Germain too adventurously, was repulsed; but afterwards, on the 16th of July, attacked a numerous body of the enemy at Exdorf, and gained a brilliant victory; five battalions were taken prisoners, with their arms, baggage, and artillery.[f] On the

French invasion of Germany.

[e] The king finding the defeat inevitable, sent a letter to the queen in these terms: "Remove from Berlin with the royal family; let the archives be carried to Potsdam: the town may make conditions with the enemy." Gillies.

[f] Elliot's regiment of light horse appeared for the first time in the field upon this occasion; and, to the astonishment of the veteran troops, charged five different times, and broke through the enemy at every charge. See Belsham's History of Great Britain, vol. ii. p. 478.

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31st of the same month, prince Ferdinand, with the main army, had an engagement with the French near Cassel, in which the enemy were compelled to retreat. The hereditary prince was afterwards defeated near Campen, but by a masterly retreat was able to rejoin the main army. The successes of that campaign towards the close were very various, but on the whole it was not favourable to the allies, as the French had again got possession of a great part of Westphalia, and the whole principality of Hesse.

THE king of Prussia strained every nerve to compensate the losses of the preceding year, and so distributed his forces as to oppose the Russians, Swedes, and Austrians, in separate divisions; while the Russians, on the other hand, attempted to join the Austrians in Silesia. Frederic used every art to animate and inspire his troops; he addressed himself to their superstition, credulity, and every other principle by which wise policy could operate upon vulgar minds: thus inspired, they took the field. The king found means to combine attack and defence. While protecting Silesia, he invested Dresden; but the approach of marshal Daun obliged him to raise the siege of that city; and the enemy also took Glatz, in Silesia. The king found it necessary now to resort to Silesia in person, to maintain his interest in that long-contested province; with his usual dexterity, he separated two divisions of the Austrian army, and kept such positions that it was impossible for them to surround his forces. He changed his movements and posts so often, that he kept the enemy always on the watch; and determined to attack them himself, as soon as he should, by marches and countermarches, draw the one division to too great a distance from the other to receive from it any support. Before him was marshal Daun with one army; behind him, Loudohn with another; and he

Masterly policy of Frederic.

Operations against three armies of

was

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was informed by his spies, that a third army of Russians had crossed the Oder and joined Daun. Daun being reinforced by the Russians, on the evening of the 14th of August prepared to give the king of Prussia battle. Next day his majesty decamped at night with his army, and crossed the Oder towards general Loudohn. Frederic took possession of an advantageous ground, which he justly concluded Loudohn would wish to occupy. Loudohn advancing, and perceiving that there were troops posted there, supposed that it was but a small detachment, and that the main army of Prussia was in camp at Lignitz. Proceeding to dislodge the fancied detachment, he suddenly found himself attacked by the whole Prussian army. The darkness of the night, and the surprise, rendered the defeat inevitable and complete: 10,000 Austrians were slain, and 6000 taken prisoners. In the camp at Lignitz, Frederic had left some hussars, who imitated the noise of patroles and sentinels. Daun not doubting that he should in the morning find the Prussians where they had been in the evening, marched towards the camp; but to his utter surprise, he found it entirely empty. The wind had been so boisterous and adverse, that Daun had not heard the report of two hundred pieces of cannon at half a mile's distance; and knew nothing of the enemy, till he saw them arrayed in order of battle on the opposite side of the river. Daun was evidently undetermined whether he ought to attack the enemy, or retreat. Frederic ordered his troops to fire, in demonstration of joy for victory; a dexterous manœuvre, which completely dispirited the Austrians, and precipitated their retreat. He dispersed the Russians by a stratagem not unlike that which Themistocles employed towards Xerxes. He sent a peasant with a letter to his brother Henry, telling him that he was advancing as fast as he could after his victory over the Austrians, to attack the

Defeats Loudohn with one Austrian army.

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Russians, and he hoped with equal success. The peasant purposely throwing himself in the way of the enemy was taken; the letter was found on him; and, on being read, they repassed the Oder, and destroyed the bridge; and thus, in order to avoid the pretended pursuit of Frederic, they cut off their own communication with the allied army. Frederic, meanwhile, instead of following them, endeavoured to make the best of his victory, by driving the Austrians out of Silesia. Daun regretting that he had been so completely out-generaled by Frederic, employed every means to prevail on the Russians to repass the Oder, and invade Brandenburg. He at last prevailed; and in October, the Russians entered the electorate, and invested Berlin. The number of Prussians that had been left to guard the capital, was less than half that of the Austrians and Russians. The combined armies entered the capital, and behaved with savage ferocity; but the king hastening from Silesia, the enemy on his approach thought it expedient to retire. Having delivered his country from the combined troops, he returned to oppose marshal Daun, drew him into a battle in a disadvantageous situation, and gained at Torgau a victory still more decisive than that which he had obtained over marshal Loudohn. The Russians, on hearing of the defeat of their ally, retired into Poland; and thus Frederic became again superior to all his enemies. They might invade his country, take his towns, defeat his armies, exhaust many of his resources; but he had in his genius one resource, which they could not exhaust: with his transcendent abilities he ultimately predominated over all their force, experience, and skill. Such was the state of our principal ally in war, in October 1760.

Induces the Russians to retreat.

Defeats a second Austrian army under Daun.

State of British allies in October 1760.

THE war gave occasion to discussions between Britain and Holland, which involved general questions concerning the rights and conduct of neutral states, when neighbouring powers are engaged in hostilities.

By

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By the barrier-treaty it had been expressly declared, that no fortress, town, or territory of the Austrian Low Countries should be ceded or transferred to the crown of France on any pretext whatever. Notwithstanding this treaty, the States General had acquiesced in the surrender of Ostend and Nieuport to the French. They had also given permission for the free passage of warlike stores through their territories, for the use of the French army. A memorial, by order of the British king, was presented to the States. They answered, that they could not prevent the infractions of treaties. The Dutch for several years had been supplying the French with all sort of warlike stores, and transporting the produce of the French sugar colonies to Europe, as carriers hired by the proprietors; and were at this time very active in carrying contraband goods to France. The supineness and inefficiency of the Newcastle administration had suffered such violations of neutrality to escape with impunity; but with the energy of Pitt, the case was changed. The court of Great Britain having complained of this violation of neutrality without obtaining redress, took the most effectual step for redressing themselves. They issued orders to arrest all ships of neutral powers, that should have French property on board. These necessary orders were strictly and vigorously executed. A number of Dutch ships with French cargoes were seized and confiscated; a great ferment arose among the Dutch: they remonstrated, and they complained. The British government assured them, that we were desirous of remaining in amity with them, but that we never could connive at such a deviation from neutrality; and that we should continue to capture ships caught in such acts of violation. Towards the close of 1758, they began to make some preparations for hostilities. The princess dowager of Orange, daughter of George II., by her judicious management prevented the two nations from a quarrel, which it was so much the interest of both to avoid. English privateers

Discussions between Britain and neutral powers, in October 1760; with Holland.

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teers having frequently, without any authority, rifled Dutch ships, the masters were punished as pirates; but by our ships of war, authorized for the purpose, the aggressors of the law of nations continued to be captured. The princess dying, the conduct of the States threatened the dissolution of peace; and they persisted in supplying the French in the West Indies, and in the East had manifested a hostile disposition to the English interest. A second memorial was presented by Sir Joseph Yorke. They endeavoured to justify themselves; but as the attempt was evasive and unsatisfactory, the British minister instructed the ambassador to reply in more peremptory terms. The Dutch, aware that Pitt never threatened in vain, promised [s] to abstain from every kind of traffic that gave umbrage to Great Britain, and to inflict exemplary punishment on any of their subjects or servants who should give offence to England.

FERDINAND king of Spain died in 1759, and was succeeded by his brother Charles. This prince was very far from adopting the sentiments and policy of his predecessor respecting England. Hitherto, however, the difference did not manifest itself.

Negociations for peace before October, 1760.

DURING the contest which was carried on by Britain and her allies, overtures were made by George and Frederic towards the termination of war. In the winter which followed the campaign 1759, immediately after the capture of Quebec and admiral Hawke's victory, Mr. Pitt, aware that the day of success is the time for offering peace, proposed that the allied kings should intimate their willingness to open a negociation. Frederic consented, and a memorial was delivered to the French, Imperial, and Russian ambassadors, signifying that their Britannic and Prussian majesties were ready to send plenipotentiaries to any proper place that should be appointed, in order to receive overtures for a general peace. A preliminary article proposed was, that the dominions

[s] See Smollet, vol. v. p. 302.

of

of the king of Prussia should be preserved entire. This proposal being communicated to the court of Versailles, France replied, that she had no other wish but to make peace with England; but that not being at war with Prussia, she could not confound the interests of that nation with those of Britain. France had been completely discomfited in every quarter in which England and she had to cope, apart from their mutual allies. She was entirely subdued in North America, the East and West Indies; and had been also defeated in Germany. The inferiority of her naval power obliged her to despair of success in any maritime efforts; but in Germany, though defeated, her case was by no means so desperate. From the exhausted state of the king of Prussia, and the enormous expences of the war to England, she was in hopes that she and her allies might in that country obtain advantages, which would procure more favourable terms than she could expect from the events in those quarters in which she and England had been singly engaged. The preservation of the balance of power, by supporting the king of Prussia against the great confederacy, had been the principal object of the war in Germany. Had France ratified the proposed preliminary there would have remained little which she could set against the conditions that Britain was empowered by her victories to demand. She therefore determined at present to reject a proposal with such a preface. The empress-queen, though hitherto frequently baffled, trusted to the resources of the combination, for the ultimate attainment of those objects which she sought by the war, and would by no means enter into a negociation, the preliminary article of which was the abandonment of her views on the Prussian dominions. The overtures were rejected by both France and Austria, in the belief that at a future period they could procure conditions more compatible with the views with which they had respectively commenced their aggressions. Such was the state of Britain respecting war, negociation, allies and

Relative state of the belligerent powers.

Negociation broken off.

General state of affairs in October 1760,

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and neutral powers, in October 1760. The condition of this country in her various relations had, from July 1757 to October 1760, in three years and a quarter, been raised from depression and disgrace to exaltation and glory. This change, under Divine Providence, had been principally effected by the force of genius, which overbore all private juntos and party distinctions, formed the wisest and most vigorous plans, selected the fittest instruments of execution, and by the combination of wisdom, firmness, and judicious choice, produced the most signal and important success. On two individuals, though of different ranks, yet who had each risen to a much higher elevation than that in which he was born, depended the fortune of Europe, and other quarters of the world. In their different situations, William Pitt and Frederic of Prussia overbore confederacy by intellectual pre-eminence and moral energy. An event now took place, in itself of great importance, and which led to the commencement of a reign, in all its history, connexions, and relations; in the events, changes, and vicissitudes, that it has witnessed; in the difficulties which it has had to encounter, and in the displays of HUMAN NATURE which it has exhibited, the most momentous that is recorded in the annals of mankind.

1760. and result of Mr. Pitt's ministry in that period.

Sudden death of George II.

ON Saturday morning the 25th of October 1760, king George II. of Great Britain, then near 77 years of age, being at Kensington palace, rose at his usual hour, called his page, drank his chocolate, and inquired about the wind, as he was anxious for the arrival of the mails; observing, that as it was a fine day, he proposed to walk in the garden. A few minutes after this declaration, his page, who had left the room, heard a noise, as of something falling. He returned hastily into the apartment with other attendants, and found the king weltering on the floor; being lifted on a bed, he in a faint voice desired they would call Amelia, but before the princess could reach his apartment, he breathed his last.

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His character.

GEORGE II., with abilities not exceeding mediocrity, possessed amiable and estimable qualities: he was just, open, sincere, brave, and, though in his temper prone to anger, yet placable, and in his dispositions mild and humane. His government was equitable and constitutional as far as depended on himself, but varied in vigour and wisdom according to the characters of his ministers. The chief defects of his politics arose from his predilection for his native dominions, which involved Britain in alliances, subsidies, and hostilities, that, being unnecessary, were pernicious, in proportion to their magnitude. His preference of one party of his British subjects, during a great part of his reign, though neither very liberal nor wise, was the natural consequence of the circumstances in which he was placed, operating on his limited capacity. The last years of his life proved to him, that connexion with a certain confederacy was not necessary to the highest ministerial ability. In the first part of his reign, a minister of considerable talents, and in many respects beneficial to his country, established systematic corruption as an engine of executive government; and for many years this engine was believed indispensable. In the last period of his reign, a minister demonstrated, that corruption was not necessary to superior genius, magnanimity, and energy; but that talents and virtue, promptly, directly, and decisively exerted for patriotic purposes, overbore all opposition, and procured, with the applause of the people, every resource which was wanted for British security and glory. The pacific policy of Sir Robert Walpole, and the persevering attention of Mr. Pelham, had a share in promoting the manufactures and commerce of this country; but their astonishing rise under this king, was chiefly owing to a more general cause of British greatness —the progressive spirit of industry and enterprise which freedom fosters.

National resources and prosperity.

FROM

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1760. Literature.

From the same source, flowed literature and science; and in the various departments of learning, Britain was eminently distinguished. Swift, Pope, and Bolingbroke, began the literary glory of George's reign; Thomson graced its middle stage; Johnson and Hume adorned its later periods. Having before rivalled, and at this time rivalling the ancients, in the various species and degrees of poetry and philosophy, Britain now for the first time contested the palm of history, and brought her Robertson and her Hume, to match the Livy and Herodotus, the Tacitus and Thucydides, of the Romans and Greeks. Theology, investigated by the inquiring and philosophical spirit of free and enlightened Englishmen, produced valuable accessions to theoretical and practical knowledge, in the works of Warburton, Hurd, Sherlock, Hoadley, and Secker. The dissenters also contributed a considerable share to the learning and piety of the times. While Foster, Watts, and Doddridge, inculcated religious conduct, by expounding and impressing in detail the doctrines of Christianity; the learned and logical Leland defended with force and success the whole Christian religion against the attacks of the deists. Not rational piety only, however, mark the theological efforts of this period; ingenious adventurers in fanaticism framed a new species of superstition, which both at that time and since has produced very important effects on the sentiments, character, and manners of numbers of people in all ranks. Whitefield and Wesley, having perceived that not a few of the established clergy had relaxed in the performance of their official duties, formed a project of supplying, in their own persons, this deficiency of spiritual instruction; and, in order to establish sufficient influence, professed superior sanctity, and pretended divine illumination. Being both men of dexterity and address, they played successfully on

on the fancies and passions, and made a multitude of converts to their respective kinds of enthusiasm. They certainly were the means of rousing the clergy to a more vigorous discharge of their professional occupation; and it is probable that they may have also made some of their votaries, by working on their fears and fancies, pious and charitable, whom reason and conscience might not have influenced. So far their efforts may have been salutary: but the first principle of their theory, divine illumination, superseding the necessity of human discipline and learning, has opened the way to many illiterate and ignorant undertakers, who, either circulating or stationary, have inculcated and impressed their absurd and often pernicious doctrines on the weak and the credulous; so that frequently profligacy, and not rarely insanity and suicide, have flowed from such spiritual instructions. In the lighter species of composition, England shewed that she could excel, as well as in the graver and deeper. If Spain and France could respectively boast of Cervantes and Le Sage, Britain could boast of Smollet and Fielding. But now there were not only, as in the time of Anne, a few illustrious in the different provinces of genius; there were many respectable. The precepts, and much more the example of the great writers of that age had diffused taste and the study of composition; and many more had obtained a competent share of useful and elegant erudition, than at any former period of English history. In no age or country had learning been more widely spread, than in Britain in the year 1760.

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In the fine arts, England was beginning to attain distinction. The encouragement bestowed on the sublime compositions of Handel, had stimulated the natives to musical effort. Hogarth shewed that England could use the pencil as well as the pen; and with the bold originality of genius, he pursued a path

Fine arts.

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a path hitherto untrodden. Reynolds also laid the foundation of that fame, which he since raised to so great a height. In architecture, improvements were made by the taste and genius of a Burlington; still, however, a relish continued for the ponderous structures of Vanburgh.

Manners.

THE manners of that age, though abounding in parade and form, were in many respects dignified and impressive. They certainly contained a much greater degree of pomp, and state, and ceremony, than was necessary for social parties in common life. Mingled with this stiffness and precision, there was, in conversation and in familiar writing, an indelicacy, less indeed than in the preceding age of George I., but still far short of just taste and moral refinement. This was probably encouraged by the practice of the court, to which modesty and reputation were not then necessary passports. The king's mistresses still continued to mix in all fashionable parties, and even to be companions to the princesses.[h]

THE signal successes which adorned the last years of George II., the exaltation of England, and the depression of her enemies, raised his majesty to a degree of popularity which he had never before enjoyed. The warm fancies of his admirers represented him as equal in wisdom and heroism to any, or all, the princes that ever sat on the English throne; and we may safely concur with the historian of his reign[i], that no prince was ever more popular at the time of his decease.

GEORGE in his person was somewhat lower than the middle size, well formed, with prominent eyes, a high nose, good features, and a fair complexion. He was born in November 1683, and in 1705 married princess Caroline of Anspach, by whom he had six children, who came to maturity, besides

[h] See Lord Orford, passim.

[i] See Smollet, vol. v. p. 372.

several

several others who died young: two sons, Frederic born in 1707, who on his father's accession to the throne was prince of Wales, and William duke of Cumberland; and four daughters, the princess of Orange, princess Amelia, the princess of Hesse, and the queen of Denmark. Frederic married in 1736 the princess Augusta of Saxe-gotha. By her he had five sons and three daughters, who came to maturity: George, born May 24th O. S. 1738, now our gracious sovereign; Edward late duke of York; William Henry duke of Gloucester; Henry-Frederic late duke of Cumberland; Frederic-William, deceased; Augusta duchess of Brunswick; Louisa, deceased; and Matilda, late queen of Denmark. His highness the prince of Wales dying in his father's life-time in 1751, his eldest son George became prince of Wales, and heir of his grandfather's crown. As Frederic himself had not confined his preference to whigs, but desired to be king of Great Britain, and not of a party, he endeavoured to instil the same sentiments into his heir.

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THE tuition of prince George was committed to John Stuart earl of Bute, who was a nobleman of respectable talents and erudition, and particularly distinguished for decency and propriety of conduct. During the life of his grandfather, his highness had been brought up in a state of retirement, and was totally free from juvenile excesses. A warm, affectionate, and benevolent heart was unalloyed by vicious habits; on the other hand, a sound and acute understanding was not furnished with the actual experience and discernment into characters, which a more enlarged intercourse with mankind, in such a mind, must have produced. The filial, fraternal, and other affections of the prince were very strong. Those whom he loved, he loved fervently; in that number was his tutor, the earl of Bute; whom his judgment

Education of George prince of Wales.

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1760. Sentiments and character.

judgment readily discovered to be a man of merit. It must be the coldness of experienced age, after frequent deceptions correcting its errors, not the generous credulity of unsuspecting youth, that will accurately scan the talents of those whom it loves. Even in age itself, wisdom is often lost in affection. It cannot therefore be surprising, that the attachment of a youth of twenty years of age should exaggerate the merits of its object. His highness's regard for the earl of Bute was very great; and his lordship being zealously attached to the church of England and his religious duties, studiously and successfully infused these principles and sentiments into the mind of his royal pupil. Being a man of irreproachable morals, he saw it necessary, from the state of the court and its influence on the public, to instil such sentiments into the heir of the crown as might induce him to patronise decency and modesty, and give a change to the prevailing manners. The prince so educated, although he did not much appear in public, was, from the general report of his character, very popular. He was, besides, a native of England, and presumed to possess the sentiments of an Englishman—to be more attached to his own country, than to the foreign territories of his family. A face both elegant and manly, combining the blooming freshness of youth with firmness and vigour; a countenance expressing the open frankness, benevolence, and boldness of the English character; a stature above the middle size; a figure uniting strength and comeliness; with unassuming and liberal manners; co-operated with the general opinion of his head and heart, and his situation, in rendering him a favourite with the nation.

THE total discomfiture of the jacobite party in prince George's very early youth, by taking away the only plausible pretext for the exclusive encouragement of whigs, facilitated the road to a more liberal

liberal choice of counsellors. Thus the change of circumstances concurred with the sentiments of his parents and the education of the prince, in forming him to be king of a country, and not of a party.—Such was our present sovereign, in character and estimation, at the death of his grandfather.

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CHAP. II.

Accession of George III. — State and resources of the country. —First council of the king. — Prince Edward and lord Bute made privy-counsellors. — Meeting of parliament. — His Majesty's first speech. — Expresses his satisfaction at the cessation of party dissensions — his resolution to adhere to the engagements of his grandfather. — Is universally popular. — General principle of the young king in the choice of counsellors. — Unanimity of parliament, and liberal supplies. — The king recommends measures for securing the independence of the judges. — An act passed for that purpose. — Recompence bestowed on Mr. Arthur Onslow. — Parliament dissolved. — Partial changes in administration. — Lord Bute made secretary of state. — Campaign 1761. — British operations. — Attack and capture of Belleisle. — America. — East Indies; siege and reduction of Pondicherry. — Powerful army sent by France to Hesse Cassel. — Prince Ferdinand disconcerts their projects. — Military ability of the Hereditary Prince. — Marquis of Granby. — King of Prussia acts chiefly on the defensive. — Baffles the attempts of his combined enemies. — Negociations. — Proffered intervention of Spain indignantly rejected by Mr. Pitt. — He discovers the hostile compact of the House of Bourbon. — Bold and decisive scheme for compelling Spain to declare her intentions, — opposed by lord Bute, and over-ruled by a majority. — Mr. Pitt resigns his office. — Character of his administration. — Marriage of the king to the princess Charlotte of Mecklenburg Strelitz. — Lord Bute, chief director of affairs. — Prejudices against. — Event justifies the foresight of Mr. Pitt. — Hostile avowals of Spain. — Britain declares war against that kingdom.

CHAP. II.

1760. Accession of George III.

NO sooner was the death of George II. known, than the prince of Wales was proclaimed king, by the title of George III. On his accession, all ranks of men ardently and sincerely testified their satisfaction. The whigs were attached to a prince of

of the house of Brunswic, and the tories rejoiced that they were to be governed by a sovereign free from party prejudices. Those who were neither whigs nor tories, were delighted with a king acquainted with our laws and constitution, a native of Britain, fond of his country, and who was expected to employ talents and virtue wherever they were to be found. All regarded their young king with affection, predicted, from his character and the circumstances of the country, an auspicious reign, and were happy in the prospect afforded by his age and state of health that it would also be long.

THE resources of the country which his majesty was now called to govern, were increased beyond all former computation. War, which is so pernicious an obstacle to other mercantile nations, had opened new channels to the traders of Great Britain. The superiority of her marine force had crushed the navigation of France, her great rival in commerce. She now supplied, on her own terms, all those foreign markets, at which, in time of peace, she was undersold by that dangerous competitor. Revenue and national credit were proportionably great; the immense sums required for the manifold services of the war, were forthcoming on demand. The sum total granted for that year amounted to nearly sixteen millions sterling. The British army in various parts of the world consisted of ninety-seven regiments of foot, and thirty-one of horse and dragoons, amounting to about an hundred and ten thousand; the German auxiliaries, in British pay, were sixty thousand; the ships of the line, including fifties, were an hundred and twenty-one; the frigates and sloops proportionably numerous; and the seamen in actual service amounted to seventy thousand. The ordnance establishment was in proportion to those of the army and navy. This force was commanded by officers selected by the penetration of the minister; who, in his choice of agents, consi-

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dered merely the object of the respective trusts; and disregarding family connexion, or any other adventitious ground of preference, appointed instruments the most fitted for effecting the destined purpose. The recent establishment of a national militia, answering most of the ends of internal defence, permitted the executive power to employ the regular troops, if necessary, out of the kingdom. Notwithstanding the expensive war, the means of internal security, as well as of influence and dignity at home and abroad, were under the command of the executive government, which employed so very energetic a minister as Mr. Secretary Pitt.

The king's first proclamation.

On the 27th of October the king held his first council, in which he declared his resolution to prosecute the just and necessary war in which his kingdom was engaged. His majesty's first proclamation, dated the 31st of October, was a strong and striking instance of his regard for the interests of religion and virtue. Its purport was, to encourage piety and morality, and to prevent and punish vice, profaneness, and immorality, which at that time were extremely prevalent. His majesty, two days after his accession, appointed his eldest brother prince Edward and John earl of Bute privy-counsellors. Parliament, agreeably to an act made for the purpose, continued to exercise its office for six months after the decease of the king. On November the 18th it assembled; and the new king, seated on the throne, delivered a speech, well fitted to confirm the high opinion of the public. He expressed his concern for the loss which he and the nation had sustained by the death of his grandfather, especially at a season so critical to the country; and his sense of the weight and importance of the task now devolved upon him, being called to the government of this country at such a time and under such circumstances. He implored the divine assistance in his endeavours to discharge his duty, and proceeded in the following energetic strain:

First speech of his majesty to parliament.

"Born

"Born and educated in this country, I glory in the name of Briton; and the peculiar happiness of my life will ever consist in promoting the welfare of a people, whose loyalty and warm affection to me I consider as the greatest and most permanent security of my throne; and I doubt not, but their steadiness in those principles will equal the firmness of my invariable resolution to adhere to, and strengthen, this excellent constitution in church and state, and to maintain toleration inviolable. The civil and religious rights of my loving subjects are equally dear to me with the valuable prerogatives of my crown; and as the surest foundation of the whole, and the best means to draw down the divine favour on my reign, it is my fixed purpose to countenance and encourage the practice of true religion and virtue." He then mentioned the successes of ourselves and our allies, the state of commerce, and the land and sea-force in which he found the kingdom; after which he proceeded as follows: "In this state I have found things at my accession to the throne of my ancestors: happy in viewing the prosperous part of it; happier still should I have been, had I found my kingdoms, whose true interest I have entirely at heart, in full peace: but since the ambition, injurious encroachments, and dangerous designs of my enemies, rendered the war both just and necessary, and the generous overture made last winter towards a congress for a pacification has not yet produced any suitable return, I am determined, with your cheerful and powerful assistance, to prosecute this war with vigour, in order to attain to that desirable object, a safe and honourable peace. For this purpose, it is absolutely incumbent on us to be early prepared; and I rely upon your zeal and hearty concurrence to support the king of Prussia, and the rest of my allies, and to make ample provision for carrying on the war, as the only means to bring our enemies to equitable terms of accommodation." After addressing the house of

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commons on the supplies, he concluded his speech in the following words: "The eyes of all Europe are upon you; from your resolutions the protestant interest hopes for protection, as well as all our friends for the preservation of their independency; and our enemies fear the final disappointment of their ambitious and destructive views. Let these hopes and fears be confirmed and augmented, by the vigour, unanimity, and dispatch of our proceedings. In this expectation I am the more encouraged, by a pleasing circumstance, which I look upon as one of the most auspicious omens of my reign. That happy extinction of divisions, and that union and good harmony which continue to prevail amongst my subjects, afford me the most agreeable prospects. The natural disposition and wish of my heart are to cement and promote them; and I promise myself that nothing will arise on your part, to interrupt or disturb a situation so essential to the trade and lasting felicity of this great people."

gives general satisfaction.

THIS speech was extremely satisfactory both to parliament and to the public. Very loyal addresses were returned by both houses; but that of the house of commons was peculiarly forcible and eloquent. From the promotion of Pitt to be prime minister, there had been no parliamentary opposition. Unanimity in both houses marked the first session of the reign of George III., and the most liberal supplies were granted without a dissenting voice. The sums required for the public services of 1761 amounted to nineteen millions, twelve of which it was necessary to raise by a loan, and add to the debt which his majesty found at his accession. The civil list was fixed at 800,000*l.* A message from the throne stated the extraordinary expences incurred by several provinces of America in their exertions during the war, and parliament, as a compensation, voted 200,000*l.*

Suspension of parties and unanimity of parliament.

Liberal supplies.

1761. The king recommends

ON the 3d of March 1761, his majesty, in his speech from the throne, recommended a measure displaying

the liberality and patriotism of his character. By the death of the king, all officers appointed by him are vacated, and require new commissions. Of these were the offices of judges. In very early times, our kings in person often heard and decided causes; but ever since the reign of Edward I. and the establishment of the different courts and of regular circuits, they have delegated that power to the several judges. For a long period these held their places during pleasure; consequently, the administration of justice must have depended very often on the views, interests, or passions of the reigning prince. In the reign of William III. a more stable tenure of office was proposed and established, and it was enacted[a], that the commissions of the judges should be made, not as formerly, during pleasure, but during the faithful discharge of their duties; and their salaries were ascertained and established, so that it might be lawful to remove them, on the address of both houses of parliament.[b] Notwithstanding this wise provision, the office of the judges determined on the demise of the crown. With praiseworthy earnestness for the impartial administration of public justice, his majesty signified, that he considered the independency and uprightness of the judges, as essential to the proper exercise of their office, as one of the best securities for the rights and liberties of his subjects, and as most conducive to the honour of his crown. He, therefore, recommended to the consideration of parliament, that such farther provision might be made for securing the judges in the enjoyment of their offices during their good behaviour, notwithstanding the demise of the crown, as should be most expedient. Parliament expressed a strong sense of the wisdom and liberality of this measure,

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to parliament to render the judges independent of the crown:

act to that purpose.

[a] Statutes at large, 13 W. III. cap. 2.

[b] See Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. i. p. 267.

and

CHAP. II. and an act was passed to the effect recommended in the speech.[c]

1761. THE parliament was now approaching to its dissolution. Mr. Arthur Onslow had been speaker for thirty-three years in five successive parliaments. He now declared, that his age and infirmities would prevent his return to the house; and on this declaration it was immediately moved, and unanimously carried, "that the thanks of the house should be given to Mr. Speaker, for his long and faithful services; for the unshaken integrity of his conduct; for his steady impartiality in the exercise of his office; and his unwearied endeavours to promote the real interests of his king and country, to maintain the honour and dignity of parliament, and to preserve inviolable the rights and privileges of the commons of Great Britain." The house farther unanimously addressed the king, beseeching him to confer some testimony of his royal favour on Mr. Onslow. His majesty, in answer, expressed his high esteem for the gentleman recommended, and bestowed on him a pension of 3000*l.* a year for his own life and that of his son. On the 19th of March, his majesty, having expressed his complete approbation of the conduct of parliament, prorogued it; and in April, it was dissolved.

Pension bestowed on Mr. Arthur Onslow.

Dissolution of parliament.

ABOUT this time some partial changes were made in administration. Mr. Legge was dismissed from his office of chancellor of the exchequer[d], and viscount

[c] Mr. Belsham labours to diminish the merit of this proposal of his majesty; by which, for the general good of his people, he shewed his disposition to lessen the influence of the crown. He asserts, that this was no sacrifice on the part of the crown, as no minister would advise such a dismissal. This, however, is a mere assumption of Mr. Belsham's. A minister might advise the refusal of new commissions to judges obnoxious to him, as good judges might be to a bad minister; and a new king, before the act of 1761, had the power of such dismission: that power is, in the act desired by his majesty, entirely renounced.

[d] Mr. Belsham, in the account that he gives of this change, imputes to his sovereign mean and unworthy motives. According to this writer, his majesty had, at the preceding election, (being then prince of Wales,) sent a peremptory message to Mr. Legge, who was about to be chosen member for Hampshire, pressing him to relinquish

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count Barrington appointed in his place; lord Holdernesse resigned his office of secretary of state, and was succeeded by lord Bute. Mr. Pitt still continued principal secretary, and consequently at the head of administration, as he must have been of any political body of which he was a member.

Lord Bute appointed secretary of state.

THE chief military enterprise undertaken by Britain in the campaign 1761, was the attack of Belleisle, a large island lying off the south coast of Brittany. This place was about twelve leagues in circumference, strongly fortified, and afforded to its possessors the command of a great extent of French coast. It was apprehended, that it might be of service to the English trade and shipping in time of peace; and, as a receptacle for privateers, might annoy the trade of France in time of war; or that the French, when a treaty should be set on foot, aware of its advantages, might offer in exchange for it some other valuable possession; and under these ideas an expedition was ordered. The land-forces were commanded by general Hodgson, and the fleet by commodore Keppel, brother to the earl of Albemarle. On the 29th of March they sailed from Spithead, and on the 7th of April arrived off

The campaign opens.

Expedition to Belleisle.

relinquish his pretensions in favour of sir Simon Stuart, a near relation to the earl of Bute. "Mr. Legge (says Mr. Belsham) represented, in very respectful language his earnest desire to gratify the wishes of his royal highness, if timely intimation had been given him of his intention; but, as things were now circumstanced, he could not, in honour to himself or justice to his friends, recede from the nomination already made. This (continues Mr. Belsham) was a species of contumacy altogether unpardonable; and the new monarch took a very early and decisive opportunity to demonstrate to the world, how different was his system of thinking from that of Louis XII. who, with a magnanimity truly royal, declared it beneath the dignity of a king to revenge the quarrels of a duke of Orleans." Belsham, vol. i. p. 17. This paragraph contains an assertion injurious to our sovereign, without any proof or vouchers. Where is the evidence that the prince sent such a message? There is none in Mr. Belsham's history; but even if the prince had sent such a message, is there any proof, that, because Mr. Legge did not do what was not practicable, the prince should conceive such resentment against him, as on that account to deprive him of his office seven years after? Where is the testimony that supports this assertion, imputing to the sovereign, malignity and revenge? Is it a construction founded on general experience of that illustrious personage's dispositions? Are malice and rancour supposed, even by his enemies, to be component parts of the king's character? An impartial historian, will admit no assertion that is unsupported by testimony, and contrary to probability.

Belleisle.

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Belleisle. On the 8th, they attempted a landing where its beach was most accessible; but, after several brave and repeated efforts, were obliged to desist, with the loss of near five hundred men. Not dispirited, however, by this repulse, they determined to make another trial, as soon as less boisterous weather should permit; but this was not the case till the 25th of April. On that day they made a second attempt, and not where the coast was weakest, but strongest; they proceeded on the same principle, the application of which had carried the heights of Abraham, and they placed their chief hopes in the difficulty of the precipices; and concluded that the enemy, trusting to that circumstance, would be off their guard. To conceal their main attempt, they amused the enemy by two feigned attacks in different quarters. By these means, brigadier Lambert effected a landing, and gained possession of a hill over-hanging the sea; formed his men, and repulsed a body of French, which had been sent to dislodge him from his post. Having now the command of this part of the shore, the British troops in a short time made good their landing, and immediately commenced the siege with great vigour: while the fortress, on the other hand, was very gallantly defended, and several bloody contests took place. At last the chevalier St. Croix, debarred by the British fleet from any communication with the continent, and pressed on all sides, surrendered, by an honourable capitulation, on the 7th of June, two months after the arrival of the British armament. Although in England all men did not equally estimate the value of the conquest, yet they agreed in praising the military and naval exertions by which it had been obtained.

Siege of the fort,

and capture.

Transactions in America unimportant.

In America so much had been already done, that little remained now to be accomplished by war. The Cherokee Indians had been troublesome and incursive on our western frontiers, but were entirely defeated

defeated by colonel Grant, and compelled to make peace on our own terms. In the West Indies, a small armament, under Lord Rollo and sir James Douglas, sailed against Dominica, one of the neutral islands, but occupied by the French, and reduced it under the dominion of Great Britain. CHAP. II. 1761.

In the East Indies, as we have seen, Pondicherry only remained in possession of the French. Against this beautiful town and important fortress, in the progress of success, the British troops proceeded. Colonel Coote invested it by land, and admiral Stevens by sea. In November 1760, the batteries and works raised by the besiegers suffered great damage from a violent storm, but were quickly repaired, and the operations were carried on with vigour and perseverance. The besieged made a resolute and gallant defence, expecting the arrival of a powerful fleet to their relief; but at length being attacked by famine, they were reduced to extreme distress, and obliged to subsist on the flesh of camels, of elephants, and even of dogs. On the 1st of January 1761, a violent storm dispersed the British fleet, and gave the besieged sanguine hopes of provision and succour. The British admiral, however, exerted such diligence and celerity, that in four days after the storm, he again appeared before the place, with eleven ships of the line and one frigate, two of the line having been wrecked. Being disappointed, after such flattering hopes of assistance, the besieged became desperate; but neither they nor their general made any offer to surrender. At length a breach being effected, and only one day's provision of any kind remaining, a signal from the town was made for a suspension of arms. A jesuit and two civilians offered to capitulate; but the governor would propose no terms, and sent out a paper full of invectives against the English, as breakers of the treaties relative to India. As the governor would not capitulate, and the offer

Operations in India.

The British besiege Pondicherry.

Gallant defence.

of

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of the inhabitants without his concurrence could not be regarded, the city was taken by storm, and abandoned to the plunder of the victors. Colonel Coote and his co-adjutor, by their courage, conduct, unanimity, and perseverance, effected this conquest on the 15th of January 1761, and thus gave a final blow to the French power in the Carnatic.

1761. Taken by storm.

Affairs in Bengal.

In Bengal, an attempt was made to revive the power of France. On the taking of Chandernagore in 1757, Mr. Law [e], a subject of France, had with a party of French fugitives retired into the north-western regions of India, and his European followers soon amounted to about two hundred men. The great Mogul had a short time before been deposed by an irruption of Mahrattas, and soon after dying, one of his sons, Shah Taddah, assumed the title of his father, supported by some of his provinces, and opposed by others. Law offered this young prince his service with his two hundred Europeans, which was accepted with great joy; and, though the prince's opponents were extremely numerous, yet, by the superiority of European genius, enterprise, and military skill, to those of the feeble Asiatics, he easily turned the scale in his favour, and reduced several considerable districts to obedience. Law, elated with this success, in an evil hour persuaded him to turn his arms against Bengal; and he accordingly entered that kingdom with eighty thousand men of his own, and upwards of two hundred French. The subah of Bengal marched to oppose him with twenty thousand natives, but a much more formidable force in five hundred English. The British and their allies gained a complete victory over the French and their auxiliaries: Mr. Law was taken prisoner, and his fellow-adventurers killed, taken, or dispersed; the great Mogul being among the native prisoners. This victory happened on the

Projects of Law,

discomfited by the English.

[e] Nephew to Law, so noted about 1720, for his Mississippi scheme.

same

same day on which Pondicherry was taken, and thus by both was a final blow given to the power of France in India.

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Campaign of the allies in Germany.

WE left the French in possession of the whole territory of Hesse, and a considerable part of Westphalia. Their force in Germany greatly surpassed that of prince Ferdinand, and rendered it necessary for him to act with cautious circumspection. The general object of the allies was the same in this as in the preceding campaigns; namely, to drive the French out of Germany: but the scene of their efforts was different. The French army was powerful, and well supplied with provisions. Prince Ferdinand, in forming his plan of operations, considered the different characters of the contending troops. The French, though equally brave, he knew, were not equally hardy with his own soldiers; he therefore projected a winter-campaign, in which the hardiness of his own troops, inured to the country and climate, would somewhat compensate for the superior force of the enemy. Accordingly, on the ninth of February, he prepared to attack the enemy on every side, while they were totally off their guard; and on February the 10th, began his march. The centre, led by his serene highness in person, penetrated directly into Hesse, and made its way towards Cassel: the right and left of the army were each at a very considerable distance from this body; but so disposed as fully to co-operate in the general plan, which was very extensive. The hereditary prince, who commanded on the right, marched by Stadbergen and Mengeringhausen; and leaving the country of Hesse to the eastward, as the alarm was to be as sudden and as widely diffused as possible, he pushed forward with the utmost expedition into the heart of the French quarters. General Sporken commanded a corps of troops to the left, and penetrated into Thuringia. These movements cut off the French from communication with a strong gar-

Objects and plan of prince Ferdinand.

rison

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rison which they had placed at Gottingen, and with the army of the empire in Lower Saxony; and at the same time opened a communication between the army of the allies and of Prussia. On the approach of the allies, the French, notwithstanding their numbers, fled in great consternation; and had not the country, by its defiles and difficulties, favoured their retreat, they might have been entirely destroyed. Prince Ferdinand attacked Fruster, a well-fortified town on the river Eder, one of the streams which fall into the Weser.[f] He found the place well prepared; but, though at first repulsed, he in a few days compelled it to surrender, and there got possession of a large magazine. That gallant and enterprising officer the marquis of Granby[g] who had succeeded lord George Sackville in the command of the English, attacked and stormed several strong forts and castles in the neighbourhood, and the chief magazines of the enemy were either taken or destroyed. Marpurg, upon the river Laun which falls into the Rhine, and Leighayn, were blockaded. But the chief object of the prince was the siege of Cassel, on which the fortune of the campaign must evidently turn; since, if the strongly-fortified capital of Hesse were taken, the inferior places would certainly fall. Meanwhile marshal Broglio, the French commander, collected his dispersed troops, and being reinforced from France, returned to meet the victorious enemy. The allied army had been divided, in carrying on the different operations; and the hereditary prince having advanced a considerable way before his uncle, was attacked by Broglio, and defeated. Prince Ferdinand, finding it necessary to raise the siege and evacuate Hesse, made a very able retreat towards Hanover; and though disappointed in the hopes that he entertained from his winter campaign, yet

He reduces Fruster.

Atchievements of lord Granby.

Siege of Cassel,

raised.

[f] Not directly, but after its confluence with the Fuldo.

[g] Grandfather of the present duke of Rutland

his

his expedition was far from being without effect; for, by seizing and destroying the magazines of the enemy, he prevented them from availing themselves of their successes. Both armies returned to winter-quarters, and it was the end of June before they again took the field. Marshal Broglio, being strongly reinforced, marched from Cassel, and moved towards the Dimel [b], to join a body of troops in Westphalia under the prince de Soubise. General Sporken, who occupied a strong position on the banks of the same river, on the approach of the grand army of the enemy, attempted a retreat, but did not effect his purpose without his rear being attacked, and suffering considerable loss. Marshal Broglio having joined Soubise, marched forward against the allied army, which prince Ferdinand had posted on the Lippe, on the eastern frontiers of Westphalia and the confines of Lower Saxony. Discovering that the design of the enemy was to attack him, the prince took a very strong position, and also employed effectual measures for securing a retreat, should it be necessary. Broglio, on the 15th of July, made a furious attack upon the marquis of Granby's posts, and after a violent conflict was repulsed; but the next day the French made a general attack. Prince Ferdinand, though with very inferior numbers, by his skilful disposition, and his readiness in seizing advantages which were afforded him on one side by the tardiness of the French, was victorious; but the victory was not decisive. Broglio thought it expedient to separate the troops; and sent Soubise westward to besiege Munster, while he himself proceeded towards Hanover and Brunswic; and so secured his communication, that he could easily retreat into Hesse, should that be expedient. Prince Ferdinand, moving eastward to watch the motions of Broglio, sent the hereditary prince to protect Munster; which

Broglio reinforced, and enabled to act on the offensive.

Repulsed by Granby.

[b] A river on the confines of Westphalia and Hesse, which falls into the Weser.

purpose

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purpose he effected so completely, as to prevent Soubise from besieging that city, and compel him to retire. Meanwhile Broglio was making rapid advances in Lower Saxony: on the 5th of October he attacked the city of Wolfenbuttle, which after a siege of five days he took, and proceeded to Brunswic. The hereditary prince, however, being sent by his uncle to the relief of his father's capital, by the skill and activity of his movements compelled the enemy to raise the siege, and also to evacuate Wolfenbuttle: soon after, both armies retired into winter-quarters. After all the variety of operations and vicissitudes of fortune, both the French and the allies were nearly in the same situation as at the commencement of the campaign.

1761. Various success.

Results of the campaign in Western Germany.

THE king of Prussia in this campaign, contrary to the plan which he had adopted in the former years of the war, and notwithstanding the glorious actions and important atchievements of the preceding season, resolved to act upon the defensive. Aware, however, that this resolution would encourage his enemies, he skilfully concealed it, by threatening operations which he did not mean to carry into execution. The plan of his enemies was, that Loudohn, assisted by the Russians, should undertake a war of sieges in Silesia; that Romanzow should carry on the war on the side of Prussia and Pomerania, and, assisted by the Russian and Swedish fleets, besiege Kolberg; while marshal Daun commanded an army in Saxony, which was to serve as a magazine for reinforcing the other armies, and co-operating either with Loudohn or Broglio, or causing a diversion in favour of Romanzow. After a long siege, the Russians and Swedes captured Kolberg. The king himself undertook the defence of Silesia against the Russians and Austrians; and the chief display of his military skill was in the encampment that he formed, which defied the attack and prevented the progress of the enemy

In the East the king of Prussia acts on the defensive.

enemy during the greater part of the campaign.[1] In September he destroyed the Russian magazines; and had not his own provisions failed, would have prevented any important blow from being struck in Silesia; but on the 29th of September, being obliged to leave his strong post, general Loudohn attacked and surprised Schweidnitz, which closed the campaign in Silesia. By this loss, added to the capture of Kolberg, the campaign of 1761 was on the whole disastrous to Prussia.

Negociations for peace.

THE British minister was now engaged in a business which in its consequence gave occasion to very great changes in the state: this was a negociation for peace. In winter 1760, France began to see that her hopes from successes in Germany were by no means likely to be realized; that Britain, invigorated by Pitt, continued with unrelaxed efforts to support her allies on the continent; and that Frederic still baffled, and was likely to baffle, all the force of his enemies. Her revenue, which had principally supported the expence of the war, was exhausted by enormous expences, and her ambition was humbled by discomfiture and disaster, which had made the war so general. Expressing her wishes for peace, therefore, she now seemed to be in earnest. Her allies were aware, that if she withdrew from the confederacy, it would be unsafe for them to continue hostilities. Sweden, the subsidiary of France, was informed by the court of Versailles, that the state of the French finances did not permit the longer continuance of the subsidy; and the courts of Petersburg, Vienna, Sweden, and Poland, concurred in overtures for a negociation. On the 25th of March 1761, declarations to that effect were signed by the ministers of the five powers at Paris, and on the 31st of the same month delivered at London. A declaration of the same

[1] See Gillies's Frederick, p. 355.

 import,

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import, by the kings of Britain and Prussia, was dated on the 3d of April; and Augsburg was by both parties fixed on as the most commodious situation for a congress. As the number of the parties concerned, and the variety and complication of their interests, must render the negociation intricate, it was unanimously agreed by the parties, that neutral powers should be admitted to the convention. To simplify as much as possible the views and objects of the different parties, it was found most expedient to recur to the origin of the war, in which their respective purposes had been first manifested, and by the events of which they had since been jointly or severally affected. Many as were the relations and consequences which the war in its progress involved, yet, on tracing them to their sources, they were found to originate in two objects totally unconnected; namely, the limits of the French and English territories in North America, and of the dominions of the king of Prussia in Germany and Poland. It was agreed, that the adjustment of German differences should be the business of the general congress at Augsburg; and that a separate negociation should be opened at London and Paris, for the arrangement of such concerns as belonged exclusively to Great Britain and France.

Views and interests of the parties.

To this negociation, as pertaining more immediately and directly to our subject, we shall pay the first and principal attention. Ministers were reciprocally sent; Mr. Stanley to Paris on the part of England, M. Bussy to London on the part of France; and the negociation now appeared to be in the fairest train. France, which had proposed the separate treaty with England, thereby offered a derelict ion of any hopes that she might have derived from the state of affairs in Germany. It was now obvious, that, in order to obtain peace, she must make very humiliating concessions. Her proper quarrel was, by this arrangement, separated from the general

Overtures between Britain and France.

neral cause; and she must expect very disadvantageous conditions, as in her proper quarrel she had suffered grievous disasters. When in such a situation she desired a separate peace, it might have been very naturally imagined that she was sincere; and not only by superficial politicians, but by men of information and experience, she was really conceived to be in earnest. France was, however, playing a game artful in its design, but shallow in its policy. The court of Spain, she hoped, would not look with indifference on the humiliation of the principal branch of the house of Bourbon. Charles, she well knew, was originally far from being so favourably disposed to England, as his predecessor had been. The great successes of the English, on an element and in quarters in which they might be eventually dangerous to Spain, had added jealousy to original displeasure. The more advantageous and imperious the terms demanded by Britain should be, the more would the resentment and jealousy of Spain be inflamed, and the more easily would that power be induced to take a part in the war. On the side of England there was sincerity in the negociation, but there were circumstances which obstructed a peace. France was a country whose ambition had always displayed itself toward her neighbours, and more especially towards Britain, whenever she had power to give it effect: in the present contest, she had been evidently the aggressor. Our ambitious rival having commenced an unjust war, and being totally vanquished, and almost prostrate at our feet; this was conceived to be the time for reducing her to a state which would long disable her for future aggression. Such was the general opinion of the people, and such also was the opinion of the principal minister.

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THE negociation however opened, on the ground of *uti possidetis*; that is, that the two parties should remain in possession of reciprocal conquest, and that whatever

Principle of the overtures.

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whatever cessions were made, should be granted for an equivalent. As no cessation of arms had hitherto taken place, and as the war might make a daily alteration in the fortune of the contracting powers, it was necessary to fix upon some epoch to which this possessory article should refer. The French proposed, that the situation in which they should stand on the 1st of May 1761 in Europe, on the first of July in the West Indies and Africa, and on the first of September in the East Indies, should be the basis of the treaty proposed to be negociated between the two powers; but they declared their willingness to fix upon other epochs, if these proved not to be agreeable. The British minister, at first, refused to admit any epochs, but those that referred to the day of signing the treaty of peace. To this the French replied, that unless a certain period of the war was fixed, it would be impossible to ascertain the nature and value of the possessions which might be relinquished; and they declared that, unless specified epochs were fixed, the negociations must be at an end. The English minister at length saw the propriety of the measure, but before he would treat definitively on that point, he proposed two preliminary conditions: first, that every thing adjusted between the two crowns concerning their particular war, should be made final and conclusive, independent of the fate of the negociation at Augsburg: secondly, that the definitive treaty of peace between Britain and France, or preliminary articles to that effect, should be signed and ratified between the date of that memorial and the first of the following August. If these conditions were accepted, Britain agreed to name as determinate epochs, the first of July for Europe, the first of September for Africa and America, and the first of November for the East Indies. France, having consulted with her principal ally, consented to the independence of the treaty on the negociation at Augsburg,

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Ausburg, *provided nothing should be stipulated to the prejudice of the house of Austria.* To the second article, and to the proposed epochs, she also agreed. The general principle, and the terms of its application, being ascertained, they came next to particular stipulations. The great objects in the negociation were six: 1st, the limits of the two crowns in North America: 2d, the conquests of Great Britain in the West Indies, together with the neutral islands there: 3d, our conquests in Africa and India: 4th, the adjustment of the particular affairs between the English and French in Germany: 5th, the conduct which the two crowns were to adopt, with regard to their respective allies in Germany: 6th, the restitution of the captures made by England previous to the declaration of war. France proposed to cede Canada; stipulating, that whatever French colonists should so chuse, might remove with their effects, and that those who remained should be allowed the free and public exercise of the Catholic religion.[k] She required the restitution of Cape Breton, and a confirmation of the privilege of fishing on the coast of Newfoundland. In the West Indies — of the neutral islands, she proposed to relinquish Tobago to England, but that Dominica, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent, should return to her protection as before; and to repurchase Guadaloupe and Marigalante, she offered Minorca. In Africa, she required the restoration of either Senegal or Goree; and in Europe, of Belleisle: as a compensation for which, she offered to evacuate Germany eastward of the Maine. In the East Indies, being stripped of all her possessions, she had nothing to offer. She endeavoured to prove, that the territorial acquisitions of England would hurt the commercial interests of the English as well as the French East India Company; and proposed that the

Propositions of France.

[k] Annual Register for 1761, p. 38; and Magazines for ditto.

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peace in India should be on the same footing as the convention concluded some years before between M. Godeheau and admiral Saunders, in totally different circumstances; and that the cession of her conquests in Germany, should be a compensation for those in Africa and India. The chief difficulty was in the fifth object; for England declared that she would inviolably preserve her faith to the king of Prussia; and France had recently stipulated at the court of Vienna, that she would admit nothing in the treaty with England to the disadvantage of Austria. To solve this difficulty, France proposed, that the French and British armies in Germany should observe a strict neutrality; that when his Britannic majesty should recal his forces, the christian king would recal double the number; and that no French troops should remain in Germany, but in proportion to those who continued there in British pay. The French also demanded the restitution of the captures made before the declaration of war. These proposals were, in July 1761, sent in a memorial to London. Mr. Pitt's answer, dated July 29th, agreed to receive Canada, but without any limitation; and, in addition to the French offer of all Canada, demanded its appurtenances. It rejected the requisition of Cape Breton, or any other island in the gulf of St. Lawrence: it allowed the privilege of fishing, if the French would demolish Dunkirk: it acceded to the propositions respecting the West Indies, and to restore Belleisle on the compensations offered: it refused the neutrality proposed in Germany; and insisted, in addition to the evacuation of Hesse, that France should evacuate all Germany: it refused the restitution of either Senegal or Goree: it rejected the treaty of admiral Saunders as the basis of peace in India, but proposed that the East India companies of the two nations should negociate on this subject; and lastly, it refused the restoration of the captured ships.

Reply of England.

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While these matters were depending, M. Bussy, the French agent, delivered a private memorial from France, proposing with the consent and communication of the king of Spain, that his catholic majesty should be invited to accede to the treaty, to prevent any disputes between the crowns of Great Britain and Spain from producing a new war: specifying the points required by Spain to be, first, the restitution of some captures made upon the Spanish flag; secondly, the privilege of the Spanish nation to fish on the banks of Newfoundland; and thirdly, the demolition of the English settlements made on the Spanish territories in the bay of Honduras. The sagacity of Pitt immediately penetrated the object of the proposed interference, and readily comprehended, not only the insincerity of the French in the proffered negociation, but also the motives of their duplicity. He expressed himself rather, as might be expected, from conscious wisdom discovering an attempt to impose on it by trick and artifice, than in the complaisant style of court and diplomatic etiquette. He rejected with the strongest and most unqualified expressions of contempt, the proposals of an enemy, humbled at our feet, to interfere in disputes with a nation with which we were in friendship; and called on the Spanish minister, to disavow a memorial asserted to have been drawn up by the consent of his court. That ambassador returned at first a verbal message, and soon after was authorized by his court to deliver a written answer, in which he openly avowed and justified the step taken by the French agent, as entirely agreeable to the sentiments of his master. He declared, that the kings of France and Spain were united, not only by the ties of blood, but by mutual interest. He applauded the humanity and greatness of mind, which his most christian majesty had shewn in the proposition complained of by Pitt; insisted much on the sincere desire of peace, as the only motive which

Proposed interference of Spain in the negociation,

rejected by Mr. Pitt.

Discussion between Britain and Spain.

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influenced the conduct of the two monarchs; and added haughtily, that if his master had been governed by any other principles, "his catholic majesty, giving full scope to his greatness, would have spoken from himself, and as became his dignity." [1]

THE whole of this paper not only indicated, but avowed, an union of interests and views between the courts of France and Spain, which, if the negociation should be broken off, as it was likely to be on the rejection of the proposed interference, must produce hostilities. In the negociation between France and England, there were two great points on which the parties could not agree. France continued to insist upon the neutrality of Germany, which was refused by England, and also on the restitution of the captures previous to the declaration of war. The faith of the country being pledged to the king of Prussia, the English administration considered the repeated proposals for neutrality, as attacks upon national integrity. Mr. Stanley was ordered to deliver the ultimatum of the court of London, requiring the cession of Canada and its dependencies, Cape Breton, and other islands in the gulf of St. Lawrence, as demanded in Mr. Pitt's memorial of the 29th of July; agreeing to the territorial restitution in Europe and the West Indies, on the conditions proposed; requiring the cessions in Africa therein mentioned, and also the evacuation of Ostend and Nieuport, and the restitution of Cleves, Wesel, Gueldres, and all the territories belonging to the king of Prussia and other allies of Britain. England insisted that she should be left at full liberty to support the cause of the king of Prussia, according to the terms of existing treaties: she proposed to admit France to a share of the Newfoundland fishery, and to give her the small island of St. Pierre; but she continued determined to refuse

[1] State Papers relative to a rupture with Spain, 1761.

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the restitution of the ships captured before the war. Britain would neither agree to the proposed neutrality in Germany, nor to the restitution of prizes; France insisted on these two points, and thus the negociation was set aside, and Messrs. Bussy and Stanley were ordered to return to their respective countries.

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1761. Negociation breaks off.

Our ambassador at the court of Madrid was instructed to require a categorical and satisfactory declaration concerning her final intentions. If he perceived on the side of Spain any intention of disavowing, or even of explaining away, the offensive transaction, he was ordered to accept it, and to afford to her an opportunity of plausible denial. He accordingly made the desired representation to general Wall, the Spanish minister, and received many professions of the friendship entertained by Spain for the English king and nation, but a very evasive account of the purport of the proposed interference; the minister merely saying, that nothing was intended by it that could be inconsistent with the dignity of his Britannic majesty. He magnified the matters in dispute between Spain and Britain, and added either trivial or groundless subjects of complaint. Subsequent conferences were evasive and unsatisfactory, and consquently by no means answered the requisitions made by the British minister. The French interest was evidently gaining ground in the Spanish court. France strongly pressed upon Spain the dangerous greatness of England, which would render her now so formidable a neighbour to Spanish America, and enable her, if not checked, to engross so much commerce. The christian king earnestly solicited his catholic majesty to form a family-compact, which should include an offensive and defensive alliance, a reciprocation of benefits, and a mutual guarantee from dangers and attacks. Charles agreed to the propositions of Louis; a convention was formed

Mr. Pitt conceives Spain hostile.

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formed for these purposes, and signed August 15th, to which the other branches of the house of Bourbon were invited to accede. The conclusion of this treaty, afterwards so famous under the title of the family-compact, was speedily discovered [m] by Mr. Pitt, and confirmed his opinion of the hostile intentions of Spain. Considering war with that kingdom to be on these grounds inevitable, Mr. Pitt proposed in council, that we should strike the first blow, attack Spain before she was fully prepared, and thereby give her a lesson how she should presume, unasked, to interfere in our affairs, with a mediation at once dictatorial, insolent, and menacing. He proposed, that we should consider the answer of Spain, as a refusal of satisfaction; and that refusal, as a declaration of war. Conceiving that hostilities were unavoidable, he proposed that we should carry them on with the utmost speed and vigour. We were paramount at sea; let us send a fleet immediately to intercept their galleons, and thus at once strike a blow that should weaken them for the remainder of the contest. In the projects of united genius and magnanimity, there is often a grandeur, which transcends the comprehension of ordinary minds, and appals rather than inspirits the requisite efforts. Bold in conception, prompt in plan, decisive and rapid in execution, Mr. Secretary Pitt said, Spain has hostile intentions, let us anticipate her efforts, let us disable her power; so shall we speedily compel her to sue for peace, and prevent ourselves from being disturbed by her unjust partiality. It is evident, that we must have war; the sooner we begin, the better for us, as we are prepared, and she is not: her chief resources are on the element which we command, we may therefore arrest their progress to her ports. His colleagues, though men of sense and

Proposes to strike the first blow.

[m] The informant of the British minister is generally understood to have been the Earl Marechal of Scotland; who having been attainted, had long resided in Spain, but was now reconciled to the British government.

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information, were not endowed with those powers which at one glance can view a great and complicated subject in all its parts, diversities, and connexions. They considered Mr. Pitt's proposal as tending to precipitate us into a war which might be avoided, and argued on the impolicy of a rupture with Spain. That nation, they admitted, had taken a very extraordinary and unjustifiable step; but his catholic majesty had probably been seduced by the artifices of France, and a temperate but spirited remonstrance from the British court might recal him to a true sense of his interests. The addition of another war would diminish our national strength; and the proposed seizure of the flota would alarm all neutral nations. This was the opinion of all the members of the council, except lord Temple; but as it did not overturn Mr. Pitt's reasonings, his opinion remained unaltered. The amount was, war is an evil; war with Spain is contrary to the interests of England; and negociation is a more desirable mode of settling disputes than hostilities. These general propositions Mr. Pitt neither did nor could deny; negociation, he admitted, was preferable to war, if it could be employed, but it had been tried without effect. Spain was resolved to violate the peace; it was therefore just in England to prevent her attempts, and her interest to strike the first blow. As that branch of Bourbon shewed a disposition to join in the enmity of the other, now was the time for humbling the whole house; and if the opportunity were suffered to escape, it might never be recovered.[n] We are now taught by the event, that this illustrious statesman explored the views of both actual and intentional enemies; for Spain proved hostile, as he predicted. It is also evident, that in such circumstances the plan which he proposed was as wise as it was vigorous. If immediately executed, it would have disabled the ene-

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Out-voted in council.

[n] Annual Register, 1761, p. 45.

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my, and prevented the necessity and expence of our subsequent efforts. The succeeding part of his conduct is more liable to exception. He said, that if he could not prevail in this proposition, he was resolved to sit no longer in that council. He thanked the ministers of the late king [o] for their support. He was himself called to the ministry by the voice of the people; to them he considered himself as accountable for his conduct, and he would not remain in a situation that made him responsible for measures which he was no longer allowed to guide.[p] It was very obvious, that in ability Mr. Pitt far surpassed any of his colleagues; and if it be expedient for the nation that in council superior wisdom should guide inferior, it was certainly expedient that such men as the duke of Newcastle and the earl of Bute should be governed by Mr. Pitt. Perhaps, however, wisdom can best exercise guidance, where she does not assert a claim that implies conscious superiority.[q]

He resigns.

The king expresses his regret:

Had this extraordinary statesman condescended to employ a softer and more conciliating mode of conduct, he perhaps might have won over a majority of his colleagues to his opinion; but the experiment was not tried. Being out-voted in the council, he resigned his employment into the hands of his sovereign. His majesty declared his concern for the loss of so very able a servant, but without requesting him to resume his office. He offered him any reward in the power of the crown to bestow; at the same time

[o] The earl of Bute was said to have frequently thwarted Mr. Pitt in the cabinet, but had been hitherto overborne by his superior abilities.

[p] Annual Register 1761, p. 43.

[q] Since writing the above, I observed, that lord Orford, in a letter to general Conway, expressed the same opinion: "He (Mr. Pitt) and lord Temple have declared against the whole cabinet council. Why, that they have done before now, and yet have acted with them again: it is very true; but a little word has escaped Mr. Pitt, which never entered into his former declaration; nay, nor into Cromwell's, nor Hugh Capet's, nor Junius Cæsar's, nor any reformers of modern or ancient times. He has happened to say, he will *guide*. Now, though the cabinet council are mighty willing to be guided when they cannot help it, yet they wish to have appearances saved: they cannot be fond of being told that they are to be guided; still less that other people should be told so." Lord Orford's Letters.

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he expressed himself satisfied with the opinion of the majority of his council; and even declared, that, had the council concurred with Mr. Pitt, he should have found it difficult how to have acted, in the light in which he had viewed the subject. The king did not conceive Spain to have exhibited any clear proofs of hostile intentions; and, entertaining such a view, he could neither think it just nor prudent to commence a war.[r] Having, therefore, with the greatest condescension explained his sentiments (sentiments that, in the light in which he regarded the matters in question, do him the greatest honour), Mr. Pitt was extremely affected by the united dignity and goodness of his sovereign. The following day, a pension of three thousand pounds a year was settled on Mr. Pitt for three lives, and at the same time a title was conferred upon his lady and her issue. This pension subjected the acceptor to much frivolous and contemptible obloquy. Mr. Pitt's original fortune was small; the situation into which he had been advanced by his abilities, required great expenditure; his powerful mind engaging him in momentous politics, and grasping the interests of his country and other nations, he had bestowed too little attention on his own pecuniary affairs, so that he was very far from being in affluent circumstances: he had, during a most arduous conjuncture, served his country in the highest station that he could occupy; and having found her in a state of unexampled humiliation, he left her in a state of unexampled exaltation. Such a man deserved reward. All the ribaldrous invective poured out against his acceptance of this annuity, may be answered in a few words; AS A SUPPLY, IT WAS WANTED; AS A RECOMPENCE, IT WAS FAIRLY EARNED.

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bestows on him a pension.

MR. PITT's resignation of an employment in which his continuance would have promoted the most mo-

[r] Annual Register 1761, p 41

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mentous interests of his country, cannot easily be justified. From his wisdom, his country might have expected that he would have overlooked an opposition of opinion in a case which very fairly admitted of two constructions, though he was eventually proved to be right; that his patriotism would have induced him to have employed his talents, even though every particular measure adopted might not be agreeable to his views; and that his magnanimity would overlook what he might suppose personal competitions. But whatever sentiments were entertained respecting Mr. Pitt's going out of office, every impartial man agreed, that a greater minister had never acted under a sovereign of England. Lofty in genius, profound in wisdom, and expansive in views; inventive in counsel, bold in resolution, and decisive in conduct; he long over-bore party by unequalled ability. Sagacious in the discovery of general and official character, he discerned the fittest instruments for the execution of his plans; and employing none in offices of high political, naval, or military trust, but those whom he knew to be thoroughly qualified for effecting the purpose, he laid a sure foundation for success. The enterprises under his administration were brilliant, and the result was at once advantageous and glorious. A mind of such force of intellectual and moral qualities, energy of operation, and perseverance of exertion, which had in its powers and endowments no motives for artifice or disguise, perhaps bestowed too little care to conceal from others that superiority which it so transcendently possessed. A little more indulgence for common understandings, and somewhat less of austerity of temper and of inflexibility of disposition, might have preserved this illustrious man to the councils of his country.

Character of Mr. Pitt's administration.

Marriage of the king to the princess Charlotte of

THIS summer a very pleasing and important event took place, in the marriage of the king. The nation, from the accession of his majesty, was very desirous, both

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1761. Mecklenburg Strelitz.

both on public and private considerations, to see him united to a consort capable of rendering him happy. Various conjectures were formed, who the lady should be that was to become the queen of Great Britain. Different princesses were mentioned; and an English woman was by many supposed likely to attain that high rank. Pamphlets were written for and against the king of Great Britain allying himself with a subject; but, on the 8th of July, a Gazette Extraordinary put an end to all conjectures. This paper announced, that his majesty had declared his resolution of demanding in marriage the princess Charlotte, sister to the reigning duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz; a princess distinguished for talents and amiable qualifications. It was directed by his majesty, that lord Harcourt should repair to the court of Strelitz, to demand her serene highness; that the duchesses of Ancaster and Hamilton should be sent to accompany her, and lord Anson, with a fleet, to receive her in the Elbe, and conduct her to England. On the 14th of August, the noble embassy arrived at Strelitz; and the next day lord Harcourt asked the princess for his sovereign. The proposal being accepted, a contract was signed. On the 17th, her highness set out; and on the 23d, she reached Cuxhaven, where the English squadron lay, and was received with every demonstration of joy by the fleet. After encountering very tempestuous weather, and being driven a considerable way to the northward, on the 6th of September, the squadron arrived safe at Harwich late in the evening, and the next day the princess landed on British ground. Returning with the most distinguished affability the attentions that were paid to her at Harwich and the intermediate places, she captivated the affections of all the spectators. That night she slept at Wilham, the seat of Lord Abercorn; and on the 8th of September, proceeded towards London, when she was met at Rumford by the king's coach and servants. On their

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their approach to the metropolis, to avoid the streets they turned aside toward the Islington road, from thence drove to Paddington, passed through Hyde Park, and coming down Constitution hill, stopped at the garden gate of St. James's palace, where she was received by all the royal family. The duke of York handed her from the coach. In the garden she was met by his majesty, who saluted her with the greatest affection, and led her to the palace, where she dined with the king, the princess dowager, and the rest of the family. At eight in the evening the marriage-ceremony was performed by Dr. Secker, archbishop of Canterbury. The duke of Cumberland gave the princess away; the princess became queen Charlotte, and London and Westminster were the scenes of festivity and joy.

Coronation.

ABOUT a fortnight after, the coronation of the king and queen was solemnized with a magnificence and grandeur befitting those illustrious personages, and the country over which they reigned. The deportment of the young queen on these great occasions, at public places, and wherever she appeared, charmed all spectators; and, when added to the accounts given by those who had an opportunity of knowing the understanding and heart of her majesty, made every loyal Briton rejoice at the happy lot of his beloved monarch.

The earl of Bute.

ON the resignation of Mr. Pitt, the earl of Egremont was appointed to his department; but as the earl of Bute was now considered as the chief director of affairs, and not long after, by the dismission of the duke of Newcastle, became first lord of the treasury, we may from this time date the commencement of the Bute administration. John Stuart, earl of Bute, whose respectable private character has been already mentioned, was the representative of a noble family of considerable eminence in the south-west of Scotland, and connected with the first nobility in that part of the kingdom; especially with the house

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house of Argyle, so distinguished for its efforts in support of our present establishment; and he had uniformly taken the side of the Hanover[s] family. His lordship was a man of talents somewhat exceeding mediocrity, with a considerable share of that species of literature and knowledge which is within the reach of moderate abilities. He was a good classical scholar, conversant in natural history, botany, some branches of chemistry, and experimental philosophy; a liberal patron of letters, and a magnificent promoter of useful experiments and discoveries.[t] Pious in his sentiments and habits, he was meritorious in domestic and social relations; and, as a private nobleman or gentleman, a very valuable member of society. Such a character constantly contemplated by a prince so well disposed as his royal pupil, when joined to the pains and attention bestowed upon himself, naturally produced respect and affection; and affection in the inexperience of youth, as naturally exaggerated the merits of its object.

His majesty's object in the choice of ministers.

THE king evidently meant to choose his servants, WITHOUT RESPECT TO THEIR PARTY CONNEXIONS, according to his estimation of their fitness for the offices of state. He had good reason to entertain a favourable opinion of lord Bute, from what he himself had seen and known; and it was a very natural process of reasoning, especially when mingled with youthful affection, to suppose him qualified for higher departments. There certainly was a man of much greater talents than lord Bute, but he had relinquished his employment. It would, perhaps, be difficult to shew that there was any other

[s] I mention this circumstance, in opposition to a notion once prevalent, that lord Bute had been tainted with jacobitism; a charge totally devoid of proof, and which really appears to have had no other foundation than his name of Stuart. Indeed, his appointment by George II. to be tutor to the heir of the crown, when whig principles were exclusively paramount, is a sufficient answer to any assertion resting on such a feeble basis.

[t] Various expensive works were printed at his cost for the dissemination of curious and useful knowledge. Indeed, there never perhaps was a nobleman in greater favour with *printers*, as I am assured by very respectable members of that body.

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statesman at that time but Mr. Pitt (except Mr. Fox, who was a supporter of the existing administration), in point of genius, much elevated above lord Bute. The earl of Chesterfield had retired from public affairs; earl Granville was too much advanced in years for so active a situation; Mr. George Grenville was one of lord Bute's colleagues; neither Mr. Charles Townshend nor lord North were hitherto known. The ministerial abilities of the duke of Newcastle had been already ascertained so completely, as to afford little encouragement for again trusting him with the chief conduct of affairs. During the administration of Mr. Pitt, he had frequently attempted to thwart that great man, in which he had been joined by others of the old whig confederacy; but as often as he made the attempt, he had been over-ruled. After Mr. Pitt had left the council, his grace fondly hoped that he should again recover the leading influence which he once possessed. He did not perceive that it must be a prejudice, which could attach the qualifications of a statesman, to descent from certain families, or connexion with a certain confederacy; and that there had been circumstances which favoured such a prejudice, which now no longer existed. A power and influence founded upon accidental circumstances not personal qualities, he expected would remain, after those circumstances were changed. It is, no doubt, proper in the mixed constitution of this country, that men of high rank and fortune should have a share in the administration; but the precise place which, consistent with sound policy, they are to hold, and the influence which they are to possess in the executive councils of the nation, must be supreme or subordinate, according to their respective talents, combined with the situation of affairs. In point of rank and property, the administration of lord Bute, supported as it was by the house of Bedford and many other great families, was not wanting. It did not possess the highest talents:

talents; that was a want which the acceptance of the duke of Newcastle for its head, would not have enabled it to supply. It must be a bigotted prejudice in favour of the whig connexion, that could wish to have reinstated the ministry which presided at the beginning of the war. As a state-puppet moved by the ability of Pitt, the duke, from his numerous connexions, was of great use; but as himself a leader of administration, he had already demonstrated his unfitness. Much as has been said, it has never been proved, that an administration, unless headed by Mr. Pitt, could have been formed at that time composed of greater ability. The astonishing powers, however, of the favourite statesman, discredited with the public the administration of his successor, as it must have discredited any administration that could have been formed. Besides this comparison, the change of policy in the present king, which would not employ men merely because they were whigs, and belonged to certain great families, was misconstrued or misrepresented, as a predilection for principles contrary to those which had supported his family. The minister was represented as the abettor of arbitrary power; as holding an office through the partiality of his master's affection, to which he was not entitled by his abilities, nor fitted by his principles. This idea of his arbitrary notions of government was farther increased, from the place of his origin, and his name. He was a native of Scotland, in which there had been many jacobites, whence he was supposed to be a jacobite himself, and, as a Stuart, attached to the exiled family, at least to their political doctrines. In examining real facts, the historian finds no documents or evidence to support this charge of arbitrary principles. In the series of his ministerial conduct, there is certainly, on the one hand, nothing to excite very great admiration, and to justify the fulsome panegyrics of some writers of the time; nor, on the other,

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other, to justify the censures, invectives, and obloquy of a much more numerous class, which comprehended abler individuals.

THE negociation with France being broken off, the court of Versailles published what it termed an historical memorial of the war, containing the pacific overtures, and the causes of their inefficacy. The object of this memorial, as might naturally be expected, was to throw the whole blame of the war and its continuance on Great Britain. It included also personal invectives against the conduct of Mr. Pitt, whom the enemies of this country regarded with bitter resentment. The French now circulated with great industry a report, that Spain, in consequence of a treaty recently concluded, would immediately declare war against Britain. The new ministry of England instructed the ambassador at the court of Spain to demand, in moderate but firm terms, a communication of this treaty; at least a disavowal that it contained any part that would affect the interests of Britain. Before these orders arrived, his lordship had received authentic information of the actual conclusion of this alliance, and applied to the Spanish minister for satisfaction. The flota of Spain was safe in harbour, and in other respects that country was better prepared. Mr. Wall now throwing off the mask, justified the sagacity of Mr. Pitt. He gave no direct answer, but entered into a long complaint of the treatment received by Spain from Britain during the administration of Mr. Pitt, and also of the terms proposed by the court of France. It was not proper, he said, for his catholic majesty to suffer a relation, a friend, and an ally, to be in danger of compulsorily yielding to any terms which an insulting conqueror chose to prescribe; he added, that the conditions offered by France were reasonable; that, in not accepting such terms, Britain manifested an ambitious design to ruin the power of France, which, if not opposed, must ultimately crush the power of Spain; and that,

Hostile avowal of Spain.

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1761.

in proposing to dispossess France of her American possessions, the British intention must be to proceed next to the American dominions of Spain. The impartial reader must see, that the amount of this declaration expresed in plain language was, if Britain will not make peace with France on the terms which France offers, she must make war with Spain. The British ambassador replied with cool indifference to the invectives, and with temperate firmness to the menaces; recalled the Spanish minister to the object for which he had desired the conference, and repeated the question. Wall again evaded; but at last said, that the king of Spain had thought proper to renew his family compacts; and there the conversation ended. The earl of Bristol immediately communicated to his court this change in the Spanish procedure.[u] It was not doubted, either at home or abroad, that the knowledge of the resignation of Mr. Pitt had contributed to the assumption of such a style. The earl of Bute and his colleagues, apprehensive that their cautious measures to avoid war might be imputed to fear, in their next step shewed that, though they did not wish, they did not dread a war with Spain. They instructed the ambassador to renew his demand respecting the treaty with the former union of moderation and firmness, and to signify that a refusal to communicate the compact, or to disavow an intention of taking part with France, would be considered as an aggression on the part of Spain, and an absolute declaration of war. On the 10th of December, the earl of Bristol made the demand, when the required satisfaction was refused; he announced his instructions to leave Spain, and the Spanish ambassador at London received similar orders from his court. Before his departure from London, the count de Fuentes, minister of the Spanish king,

[u] Papers relative to a rupture with Spain, 1761.

CHAP. II.

1761. Manifesto of Spain.

Family compact.

delivered to the earl of Egremont, secretary of state, a manifesto in the form of a note, setting forth the haughtiness and boundless ambition of the British nation, and of its late minister Mr. Pitt, as experienced by Spain; and the insulting manner in which the British minister had answered the proffered and friendly interference of Spain.[x] Repecting the family compact[y], it was the mode and not the substance of the requisition that had prevented compliance on the part of his catholic majesty. The king had now ordered him to declare, that the treaty in question contained only a reciprocal guarantee of the dominions of the several branches of the house of Bourbon; but with this particular restriction, that it should only extend to the dominions remaining to France after the present war. It thence proceeded to declare, that Spain had been entirely in the right, and Britain in the wrong; and this manifesto was professedly addressed, not to the king of England only, but also to the English nation.

THE earl of Egremont's answer to this production afforded a very favourable specimen of the official ability of the ministry and council by which it was composed. It stated the irregularity and indecency of appealing to the English nation, in a discussion between the two sovereigns. It reprobated personal invective, as inconsistent with the dignity of the princes concerned, and irrelevant to the subjects at issue. It confined itself to facts, and recited those with an accurate reference to their respective dates and documents, specifying exactly the instances of hostile conduct which Spain had exhibited; and from these demonstrated the progress and in-

[x] Mr. Pitt's answer was, that he should not relax from the terms that he proposed until the Tower of London was taken sword in hand.

[y] See State Papers 1761; family compact.

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crease of her hostile intentions, with our temperate and often-repeated endeavours for conciliation; shewing at last, that her procedure amounted to an actual declaration of war. CHAP. II. 1761.

THE Spanish ambassador having departed at the end of December, war was declared against Spain in the 4th of January 1762.

CHAP. III.

Lord Bute unpopular.—Meeting of new parliament.—Debates on the war in Germany.—Resignation of the duke of Newcastle.—France and Spain declare war against Portugal.—Campaign.—Capture of Martinico.—Expedition to the Havannah.—Policy of the undertaking.—Strength of the place.—Arduous siege.—Reduction.—Manilla taken.—Capture of the Hermione.—Birth of the prince of Wales.—Campaign in Portugal—in Germany.—Revolution in Russia; and effects of it on the confederacy.—Proposals for peace.—Duke of Bedford sent to France.—Peace of Paris.—Approved by majorities in parliament.—Severely censured by Mr. Pitt, the minority, and out of the houses.—Impartial view of its merits.—Great clamour against lord Bute.—Cider-tax.—Popular ferment.—Inflamed by anti-ministerial writings.—Unexpected resignation of lord Bute.

CHAP. III.

THE resignation of Mr. Pitt in circumstances of such danger, did not pass without censure from impartial men and profound admirers of his illustrious character, and, when combined with his acceptance of a pension, was the subject of gross and illiberal abuse, in publications known to or supposed to be favoured by his successor. If these writings were really patronized by lord Bute, they produced an effect quite different from his intentions, being imputed, by a great majority of the nation, to an invidious desire of degrading to his own level a character, whose soaring sublimity he could little hope to reach. Lord Bute became daily more unpopular, from his apprehended attempts to injure the popularity of a man so much his superior; and both himself and his supporters were extremely disagreeable to the English nation.

1762. Lord Bute unpopular.

Meeting of the new parliament.

THE first parliament of the present king assembled on the 6th of November 1761, and sir John Cust was

was chosen speaker of the house of commons. His majesty's speech commenced, with noticing the happiness which accrued to himself, and the joy of his country, from his marriage with so amiable and accomplished a princess. He wished that this first period of his reign had been marked with another felicity in the return of peace; but, though overtures had been made both for a general pacification and a separate peace between France and England, and a negociation had been opened, yet it had not produced the desired effect. He observed, that to him the continuance of the war could not justly be attributed; adverted to the principal events of the preceding campaign, and stated the necessity of vigorous efforts, which would require proportionate supplies; and added, that by powerful exertions only they could expect a safe and honourable peace. Addresses were returned, corresponding with the tenor of the speech, and the supplies granted for the year were, 18,299,153*l.* 18*s.* 11½*d.* of which 12,000,000*l.* were raised by a loan. Seventy thousand seamen were voted; of land forces, either British or in British pay, 170,000: 100,000*l.* a-year was settled on the queen as a jointure, in the event of her surviving his majesty[a]; with the palaces of Richmond old park for a country seat, and Somerset-house for a town residence.

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In the house of commons, the ablest champion of the minister was Mr. Fox; a gentleman who, with very vigorous talents and great political experience, had repeatedly under-rated his own abilities, when he condescended to act an inferior part to such men as either the duke of Newcastle or the earl of Bute; to both of whom he was far superior in the qualifications of a statesman. In the present session he

Debate on the war in Germany.

[a] It has been said, either from misapprehension or wilful misrepresentation, that the queen, ever since her marriage, has had an independent income of 100,000*l.* a year. This report is totally unfounded, as a perusal of the act of parliament will shew.

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CHAP. III.

1762.

had not to encounter any regular opposition. Mr. Pitt poured forth his energetic eloquence to invigorate government; but did not attack any of their measures, or impugn any of their propositions, unless they compelled him to vindicate his own policy. In the course of the session, the expediency of the German war underwent a considerable discussion. The origin of that war was strongly reprobated; the expence in which it involved the country was painted in glowing colours; and its events were asserted to be not only unproductive, but pernicious to Britain. Our principal ally (it was asserted) was totally regardless of our interests; he minded nothing but his own aggrandizement; and, though pretending to be the supporter of the protestant religion, was, as his writings and conversations demonstrated, altogether indifferent about every religion, and had invaded and laid waste Saxony, a protestant country.

On the other side it was answered, that the war in Germany was necessary for preserving the balance of power; that it exhausted the French in supporting their allies, much more than it exhausted us in supporting ours; that the money expended and the force employed by France in Germany, had weakened her efforts in other quarters of the world, and had greatly contributed to our extraordinary successes. That respecting our ally, whatever might be his private sentiments concerning religion, he had most vigorously and effectually defended the protestant cause in Germany; that his invasion of Saxony was justified by the hostile designs of the Saxon prince; that the papers found in the palace of Dresden were authentic proofs of what he had himself before learned, that the attack upon Saxony was necessary to his own preservation; and, to sum up all, that our honour was pledged to support our allies, as well as our interest engaged to preserve the balance of Europe.

THE former arguments were used by some strenuous friends of the Bute administration; the latter by Mr. Pitt, and his supporters. For the present, however, it was deemed necessary to persevere in the German war, and the sum of one million was voted for that purpose. No bill of sufficient importance to deserve particular mention in history, was passed or proposed in this session, which closed on the 2d of June.

CONSIDERABLE disunion at this time prevailed in the cabinet. The duke of Newcastle, adhering to the political notions in which he had been trained, was desirous that the government should be carried on by the whig confederacy. Lord Bute was averse to the renewal of this system of party monopoly, which Mr. Pitt had so effectually overborne. Newcastle, still nominally prime minister, could not bear the preponderating influence of lord Bute in the cabinet. Besides personal competition and disagreement in general politics, they differed on a particular measure; namely, the mode of carrying on the German war, and the subsidy to be afforded to the king of Prussia. The duke proposed two millions, and, being thwarted by lord Bute, was still further incensed. He accordingly resigned; the earl of Bute became first lord of the treasury, and Mr. Grenville secretary of state: thence nominally commenced the ministry of Bute, which had really begun at the resignation of Pitt.

Spain declares war against Britain.

SPAIN in a short time declared war against England, and the situation of Great Britain was at this time extremely critical. She was engaged, directly or indirectly, in war with all the great continental powers; and, what was more important, against the chief part of the maritime strength of Europe. The navy of Spain consisted of one hundred men of war; and though the navy of France was reduced, it was not so entirely destroyed as not to make a considerable addition to the Spanish force. From the new alliance,

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alliance, powerful in its real strength, and in its principles so gratifying to the national attachment towards the house of Bourbon, despondency was succeeded by sanguine hope and animation in the minds of that volatile people. They flattered themselves that they should now be able to obtain that superiority over Britain which they had so eagerly sought, and in pursuit of which they had met with such repeated disappointments and dreadful losses. Companies and individuals, at their own expence, fitted out ships of war; and private zeal animated public efforts. The confederates were farther encouraged by the departure from the British councils of the most formidable and dreadful foe to the enemies of England; they expected that the measures of the new ministry would be feeble and inefficient, and that the country, which had cheerfully borne the expences required to execute the great plans of Pitt, would, when deprived of its favourite minister, feel the heavy burdens arising from the war. All these circumstances tended to inspire with confidence France and her new ally.

To balance these disadvantages, Britain had the uniform success, which had made the people believe themselves invincible. She had the hope of plunder arising from a Spanish war, which had always rendered it popular, and called forth the most vigorous efforts both private and public. She had hitherto the command of that element, over which a great part of the Spanish resources must be transported. Though devoid of such a minister as Pitt, she had an administration, whom the knowledge of his character and conduct, his fame and popularity, and the low estimation in which they themselves were held, stimulated to strenuous exertions in order to approve themselves not unworthy of their office; and who had also the advantage of his plans and counsels, which they had before opposed.

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France and Spain, knowing the natural connexion between Portugal and England, and the momentous advantages accruing to this country from her commercial intercourse with the dominions of his faithful majesty, and from the Portuguese docks and harbours in time of war, determined to compel the court of Lisbon to renounce all friendship with Britain, and to violate the neutrality. On the 6th of March, the Bourbon ministers delivered a joint memorial, representing Britain as assuming a despotic authority at sea, which was equally dangerous to Portugal as to other powers, and urged the necessity of joining in an offensive and defensive alliance against England. They exhorted the king to dismiss the British from his court, to exclude thenceforward from his ports all the men of war and merchant ships of that country, and to join his forces to those of France and Spain. His catholic majesty, from the great affection which he and his brother of France entertained for the king of Portugal, in order to secure that prince from danger, spontaneously offered and insisted on sending Spanish troops to garrison all the principal harbours of the most faithful king.

Application of France and Spain to Portugal.

His Portuguese majesty declared, that his country and resources were totally incapable of supporting a war; that, although sensible of the good intentions and beneficent offers of their christian and catholic majesties, and desirous of gratifying their wishes, it was impossible for him to comply; and of this they themselves must be convinced, on fully reflecting upon the circumstances. He was closely connected with Britain, as well as with France and Spain; and between Portugal and Britain there were ancient and uninterrupted alliances. Britain had given him no offence; he could not, therefore, go to war with his Britannic majesty, without violating the honour of his crown, the law of nations, and every principle of justice. In this situation he had determined to observe a strict neutrality in a war between three friends

Answer.

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friends and neighbours whom he so highly regarded, and to confine himself only to such preparations as were merely necessary for self-defence.

Reply.

In reply to this answer, the Bourbon sovereigns, on the first of April, delivered at the court of Lisbon a second memorial, more imperious, insolent, and unjust, than the first. It set forth, that, from the relative situation of Portugal and England, the alliance between them was in effect an offensive treaty against the house of Bourbon. It stated that a British fleet [b] had, in 1750, attacked a French squadron in a Portuguese harbour, which justified a declaration of war by his faithful majesty, unless suitable satisfaction were obtained; and if so, the ships taken ought to have been restored to his most christian majesty, the failure of which restitution would justify the French monarch in declaring war against the king of Portugal: but still it was the earnest desire of the French and Spanish sovereigns to be on terms of the strictest friendship with his most faithful majesty, to open his eyes to his real interest, and to induce him to join them against the common enemy. The king of Portugal, far from being convinced by the reasoning or moved by the exhortations of this memorial, refused more peremptorily than before to comply with the requisition, and supported his refusal by the strongest arguments. On the 23d of April, a third memorial was delivered, still more unjust in its demands, and more insulting in its language, and which concluded with announcing orders to their ambassadors to leave the court of Lisbon. In his reply to this ultimatum, the king of Portugal proved, that the Bourbon princes, in their imperious attempts to force a neutral nation to war, and in their declaration of hostilities because their endeavour was unsuccessful, had violated the rights of an independent nation. Such was the origin and cause of the war

[b] Under admiral Boscawen. See p. 189.

made

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made upon Portugal by the house of Bourbon; and a more unjust or ungrounded procedure is not to be found in the annals of modern Europe known at that time, not even in those of the French themselves.[c] The Portuguese declaration of war was issued on the 23d of May; the proclamation of Spain against Portugal on the 16th of June, and of France on the 20th.

1762. The Bourbon princes declare war against Portugal.

Campaign. British expedition against Martinico;

BEFORE the resignation of Mr. Pitt, an expedition had been projected against Martinico, the centre of French trade; and the war being finished in North America, we were enabled to draw from thence a considerable part of the army. General Monckton commanded the land-forces, and admiral Rodney the fleet. Being reinforced by some troops stationed in the British West Indies, the army consisted of twelve thousand men, and the fleet of eighteen ships of the line. On the 7th of January, the English armament arrived before the island of Martinico, and on the 16th they effected their landing at Cas Navire without any loss; but they had still considerable difficulties to encounter. The island was populous and opulent, and supported by a numerous well-armed and well-disciplined militia, peculiarly qualified for the species of war which the country permitted, and provided with a considerable body of regular troops. In many places the island was intersected by ravines and deep streams, narrowed into defiles, or involved in woods: where it was more open and practicable, batteries were posted with all the skill of French engineers, who had been, ever since the first attempt in 1759, strengthening the place, in expectation that our successes

[c] In this opinion I concur with Mr. Belsham, and we both have the honour of agreeing with the renowned Frederic. "Wherefore," said he, "did France and Spain attack the king of Portugal, who had given them no offence, and over whom they had no right of control? Their object was, the destruction of the profitable English commerce with Portugal, and the attainment of better terms from England in return for their cessions of the conquests which they expected to make in Portugal. But is it a reason for attacking a sovereign, that there exists no lawful reason? O law of nations, how vain and useless is thy study!"

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cesses would induce us to assail so valuable a settlement. These works were most complete in the neighbourhood of Fort Royal, a strong town which defended the approach to St. Pierre the capital, and must be conquered before we proceeded against that city. Two lofty and steep eminences, called Morne Tortenson and Morne Garnier, protected by deep ravines, overlooked and commanded the fortifications. These heights were occupied by the enemy; which, while they were retained, secured, or being lost, as certainly lost the city and citadel. The sea was upon the right, the country on the left, and the eminences immediately before them, of which Morne Tortenson, being the nearest, must, from its position, be first attacked. On the right, a body of regular troops and marines was ordered to advance along the beach towards the town, which lay in the lower grounds beyond the eminences. A thousand sailors, in flat-bottomed boats, rowed close to assist that division: on the left, the light infantry, covered by artillery, were employed to turn the enemy on that side; while the centre, consisting of the grenadiers, and supported by the seamen dragging along the cannon, attacked the enemy's centre, being covered by the seamen acting as artillery from batteries which had been erected and disposed with great skill and activity. The general having made such dispositions, the troops performed their parts with equal courage, enterprise, and effect in every point. They drove the enemy from post to post after a vigorous contest, and at last made themselves masters of the Morne. The enemy fled precipitately, either towards the town, or to the Morne Garnier. This second eminence was as strong as the first, and much higher; and until it was carried, the town could not be reduced. It was three days before batteries could be erected, and other dispositions made, for carrying the place. While the British troops were preparing these, the whole force of the enemy descended from the

the hill, and sallied from the town upon the advanced posts of the English. The main body rushing forward to support their countrymen, not only repulsed the enemy, but pursued them past the ravines, ascended the hill, seized the redoubts, and made themselves completely masters of Morne Garnier. The French regular troops escaped into the town, and the militia dispersed into the country. The situation which commanded the town and citadel being now possessed by the British, as soon as the batteries were completed, and before they began to play, the enemy capitulated, on the 4th of February. CHAP. III. 1762. which capitulates.

ST. PIERRE still remained to be reduced. This was a city which, though not so strong as Fort Royal, might have made a considerable resistance, if the garrison had been proportioned to the strength of the place and of the interjacent country; but the militia were quite disheartened and scattered: great part of the regulars were killed or taken at Fort Royal; the planters were unwilling that their country should be laid waste, in a defence which, from the late and former successes of the English, they were convinced would be unavailing. It was therefore agreed, that they should capitulate for that place and the whole island, which was accordingly surrendered on the 12th of February. Martinico, Granada, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent's soon after yielded to the British arms. This important undertaking is to be imputed to the plans of Mr. Pitt; the next which we have to record, belongs to his successors in the conduct of the war.

THE chief advantage expected by France from the assistance of Spain, was through her finances and navy. Aware of this expectation, the British ministry formed their plan for the campaign with a view to these objects, and proposed to strike a blow at the beginning of the war, which should debilitate and exhaust her new antagonist, disappoint the

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hopes of her old enemy, and compel both France and Spain to sue for peace. The whole navigation and trade of the Spanish West Indies centered in the Havannah; an expedition, therefore, against this important possession was resolved on, as soon as war commenced. It was both a bolder and a wiser plan to attack the centre and strong-hold of our enemy's dominions, than to begin with a place of less consequence, in hopes thereby of gradually attaining the principal conquest. In the war with Spain which commenced in 1739, we had begun with subordinate attacks. The capture of Porto Bello did not ensure the capture of Carthagena, nor would the capture of Carthagena have ensured the command of the Spanish West Indies. The conquest of the Havannah would intercept the enemy's principal resources, and if we chose to pursue our advances, expose the whole of Spanish America. The attempt against Carthagena was as difficult as against the Havannah. Where the danger and expence of two objects were equal, it was wiser to employ them upon that which, if attained, would be most advantageous. The policy of lord Bute and his co-adjutors in this undertaking, therefore, as war ministers, was superior to the policy of Sir Robert Walpole and his colleagues.

Expedition proposed to the Havannah.

Policy of the undertaking.

Such an enterprise being determined on by ministry, we are next to view their ability in the commanders which they chose, and the preparations which they made for carrying the plan into execution. A very powerful armament was fitted out; and the chief command of the land-forces was bestowed on the earl of Albemarle, the friend and military pupil of the duke of Cumberland. Admiral Pococke, who had extended the naval glory and political power of his country in the East Indies, was employed to command the fleet for humbling our enemies in the West. Commodore Keppel, brother to the earl of Albemarle, was second in naval command.

Preparations.

Thus administration regarded not only the skill of its principal officers, but their harmony, thereby avoiding the fatal error which had so powerfully tended to our discomfiture at Carthagena. On the 5th of March they sailed from Portsmouth; and on their arrival off the coast of Hispaniola, were reinforced by a great part of the fleet and army which had atchieved the conquest of Martinico and the other Caribbee islands. There were two routes from Cape Nichola to the Havannah; the one circuitous, to the south of Cuba, between that island and Jamaica, round by Cape St. Antonio; the other direct, to the north of Cuba, by the old Bahama channel. The first was the safer, but tedious; the second, in a narrow strait, by much the shorter, but hazardous. The success of the enterprise depended in a great degree on its being far advanced before the hurricane season: dispatch was therefore a very important object. The season of the year was not stormy, and it was thought most advisable to take the northern route. This attempt was esteemed bold, but not rash; and so admirable were the dispositions of the naval commander, in sending vessels to reconnoitre the passage, and dividing the armament according to the nature of the sea, that, by favourableness of weather, with which from his knowledge of that climate and situation he had laid his account, our whole force in nine days passed through this strait, seven hundred miles in length, without the smallest interruption; and on the 5th of June arrived before the place of their destination.

Island of Cuba.

Cuba, belonging wholly to Spain, is by far the largest island in the West Indies. It runs from east to west, verging towards the north-west, about nine hundred miles in length; irregular in breadth, but at an average about one hundred miles. Its nominal capital is St. Jago, on the south-east coast; but the most important place for size, strength, popula-

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The Havannah.

tion, and wealth, is the Havannah. The harbour of this city is entered by a narrow passage, about half a mile in length, opening into a large bason, which diverges into three smaller inlets, capacious enough both in extent and depth to contain a thousand of the largest ships, and on all sides secured from the wind. In this haven the rich fleets from the various Spanish settlements in the West Indies and Mexico assemble, before they set sail for Europe. The Havannah, a rendezvous of such wealth, was itself so flourishing and opulent, that no pains were spared to give it proportionate security. The narrow entrance of the harbour was protected on the east side by a very strong fort, called the Moro, on a projecting point of land; and by a fort called Puntal, on the west, which joins the town opposite the Moro fort. The town itself is surrounded by a strong rampart, with bastions, and a deep ditch. The Spanish navy intended for the West Indies, consisting of twenty sail, mostly of the line, were at this time in the harbour of the Havannah. Though not much inferior to the British in maritime force, they did not attempt to risk an engagement; but in other respects made many able dispositions for defending the town. Across the mouth of the harbour they laid a strong boom, behind which they sunk several ships. The English commanders proposed to land on the eastern side, so as to be able at once to invest the Moro, and command the country. To divert the enemy from attending to their design, a great part of the fleet sailed to the westward. While the enemy were attending to the motions of the fleet, our troops, on the 7th of June, effected a landing. The army was divided into two great corps; the chief body was employed against Fort Moro, the other advanced southwards a considerable way into the inland parts, to cover the siege, and secure our watering and foraging parties, and on that side to cut off the enemy's intercourse with

Siege of the Havannah.

with the country. A detachment was posted under colonel Howe to the westward, to create a diversion in favour of the principal objects, and to intercept the communication with the country on that side. Thus the place was either invested or blocked on the east, south, and west, by the army; and on the north, by the fleet, which commanded the sea.

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NOTWITHSTANDING this masterly disposition, the British had still very great difficulties, dangers, and hardships to encounter. The sun being then vertical, the heat was excessive; water was to be fetched from a great distance, over paths to be cut through thick woods, and the cannon was to be dragged over a rough and rocky shore; but such a spirit diffused itself over the whole army, and such an unanimity prevailed among the commanders, officers, soldiers, and sailors, that, in spite of heat, thirst, fatigue, and the enemy's fire, they erected batteries against the Moro. The enemy not only acted on the defensive, but on the fourth week of the siege made a powerful sally, in which they were repulsed, with the loss of three hundred men. Our sea-forces, who had hitherto afforded every assistance on shore to the land-service, on the 1st of July made a very bold attempt from their own element, and opened their broadsides with a terrible fire against the Moro. As it was impossible, however, to act from sea upon that castle, without being also exposed to the batteries of Puntal, they were extremely annoyed from both garrisons, and at length obliged to desist from their cannonade. Although this heroic effort of the ships produced little effect on the north side, which they attacked, yet it was of great service to the land-besiegers on the east side of the Moro. While the defenders of the garrison were returning the fire of the fleet, they paid much less attention than usual to our land-batteries, which during that time did considerable damage to their works; but when the sea attack had ceased, they

Difficulties.

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were enabled to return to their operations towards the land with their former effect. The contest was carried on with extreme perseverance and obstinacy, and the event seemed very doubtful. While affairs were in this state, the principal British battery took fire, and was unfortunately consumed. Sickness now becoming prevalent in this severe service and destructive climate, rendered one half of the forces unfit for duty, and doubled the fatigue of the other. The want of fresh provisions and wholesome water increased the diseases, and aggravated the sufferings of the besiegers. As they were daily more exhausted, and the season advanced towards the time of the hurricanes, their hopes of ultimate success became fainter. Those who escaped the dangerous siege and dreadful climate, expected final destruction if they waited till the tempest began. From North America they had long looked for reinforcements, but none arrived. Oppressed with these distresses, the commanders endeavoured to re-animate their troops. The enemy, they represented, had made a most gallant resistance; and were Spaniards in military efforts to surpass Britons? The richest prize was before them, which British valour and perseverance might still obtain. These incitements inspiriting the heroic breasts of British soldiers and sailors to the most astonishing exertions, new batteries were raised. They now silenced the cannon of the fort, beat to pieces the upper works, and made a lodgment in the covered way; hence their hopes of success revived. At this time the Jamaica fleet brought them a supply of provisions, and in a few days they were succoured by a strong reinforcement from New York. Their hopes now redoubled: but a new difficulty appeared after their lodgment was effected, from an immense ditch, which was cut chiefly in the solid rock. A thin ridge, however, had been left to flank the ditch towards the sea; this, though totally uncovered, the

the miners passed without fear, and were enabled to carry on their operations in the wall. The governor of the Havannah seeing that the Moro must soon fall, unless an effort was made for its relief, sent a great body across the harbour on the 22d July before day-break, to attack our posts in three points; but they were repulsed with severe loss. Meanwhile our miners advanced rapidly in their operations; a part of the wall was blown up, the ruins fell into the ditch, and a breach was left, which the engineer judging practicable, the general marched at the head of his troops to attack, mounted the breach, and entered the fort. The enemy made a brave but ineffectual resistance; the gallant commander fell, and the Moro was taken by the British troops. No time was lost in improving this momentous advantage. A second reinforcement now arrived, which still farther encouraged the exertions of our armament. As the Moro commanded the whole eastern part of the town, the fire of the fort was turned against the enemy; a line of batteries was placed from the fort along the hill on the extremity of which it stood, and another line was erected on the west side of the town. On the 10th of August, when they were all prepared to play, the general informed the governor by a message, that, knowing the irresistible force of the attack which he was ready to make, he suspended it, in order to give him time to capitulate. The governor replied, that he would defend the place to the last extremity. The general the next morning ordered the fire to commence from all the batteries, which, after playing for six hours with most tremendous effect, compelled the enemy to hang out a flag of truce. A capitulation was concluded; and the English troops took possession of the Havannah on the 14th of August, after a siege of two months and nine days. The conquest of the Havannah was the most important exploit atchieved during the war. The reduction

Capture.

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of so strong a fortress was an arduous military enterprise; the capture or destruction of the enemy's fleet was a very great naval victory; the plunder taken, amounting to three millions sterling, was a most lucrative acquisition; and the enemy being deprived of the chief sinews of war, was a decisive blow that compelled them to sue for peace.

Manilla taken.

WHILE the English efforts were so successful against the power and influence of Spain in the West Indies, strenuous and successful exertions were also made in the East. As soon as it was known that hostilities had commenced, an armament equipped at Madras sailed against Manilla, the chief city of the Philippine Islands. The expedition appeared before that settlement on the 23d of September, which, after a short and vigorous resistance, was taken on the 4th of October. A capitulation was offered for ransoming the place at four millions of dollars, about 900,000*l.* sterling, and accepted. An Accapulco ship, valued at about three millions of dollars, was soon after taken in those seas.

Capture of the Hermione.

IN Europe, a very important Spanish treasure was obtained by the capture of the Hermione, from Peru to Cadiz, by two English frigates near Cape St. Vincent's; the prize was estimated at a million sterling.

War in Portugal.

THE Bourbons had entertained great hopes of success and advantage in their war with Portugal; and at first their expectations appeared likely to be realized. Their declared object was, to exclude the English from the military and commercial use of the Portuguese ports, especially Oporto and Lisbon, to which they had hitherto resorted; and to this their efforts were chiefly directed. They planned the invasion in three divisions: the first, in the north of Portugal, between the Minho and the Douro; the second, in the middle, between the Douro and the Tagus; and the third, to the south of the Tagus, to co-operate on that side with the middle corps

corps in its attempt upon Lisbon. The northern division, under the marquis de Sarria, commenced hostilities; entered the Portuguese province of Traeos Montes, and invested Miranda, the capital of that district. This city might have made a vigorous defence, but very unfortunately a powder magazine blew up by accident, the fortifications were ruined, and the Spaniards, before they had raised their first battery, marched into the town by the breaches in the wall. Before the end of May, they had made such progress, that Oporto was in imminent danger; and the English admiralty, under the apprehension of its capture, prepared transports to carry off British effects. The Portuguese peasants, instigated and directed by some English officers, arming themselves, took possession of a defile through which the enemy must necessarily pass, drove them back, and thereby checked their progress upon that side. The middle division of the Spaniards entered Portugal by Beira, and laid siege to Almeyda, on the frontiers of Spain. This city made a gallant resistance; but the Spaniards being joined by the greater part of their northern army, and by eight thousand auxiliaries, compelled it to capitulate on the 25th of August. After this capture, the Spaniards made themselves masters of the greater part of the province of Beira, as far as the Tagus, and even Lisbon itself was in danger.

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May 30.

Successes of the Spaniards.

At this juncture a body of troops arrived from England under the command of brigadier-general Burgoyne; and count La Lippe, a German officer of great celebrity, was placed at the head of the native forces. Early in the campaign the court of Lisbon had not paid the proper and prudent attention to the advice of the British ambassador and officers, but, taught by their miscarriages, and influenced by the persuasions of La Lippe, they now adopted a different line of conduct. The Portu-

Arrival of British troops.

guese

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guese and English commanders, having in concert investigated the state of affairs, adopted a plan of military policy very frequently successful. The most effectual measure of defensive war, they concluded to be offensive operations. History informed them, that the best mode of relieving a country from invasion, was by invading the country of the enemy. The third body of Spaniards destined for southern Portugal, was still in Spanish Estremadura. Should it effect a junction with the army in Beira, it was probable that the whole would overwhelm the Portuguese and their auxiliaries. While La Lippe himself watched the motions of the middle army, he sent general Burgoyne into Spain against the other, posted at Valentia d'Alcantara[a], where they also understood the enemy had considerable magazines. Burgoyne, by a forced march of five days, arrived at Valentia, surprised the Spanish troops, defeated them, destroyed one of the best regiments in their service, and took many prisoners, including their principal officers and the general. Though the British were disappointed in their expectation of finding magazines in this place, yet their success produced a very important change in the aspect of the campaign. It not only prevented the invasion of Portugal on that side, but disconcerted the plan of the main army; which was, to cross the Tagus from Beira, a mountainous country, to Alentejo, an open champaign country, where their cavalry, in which their chief force consisted, could act with the full effect. The chief Bourbon army still continued to attempt the passage of the Tagus, to the banks of which they were now advanced. La Lippe and Burgoyne, by very active and skilful efforts, prevented them from effecting their purpose. Burgoyne being posted at Villa Velha, on the southern bank of the river, where the Spaniards occupied the

[a] Not the great city of Valentia, which is in an opposite part of the kingdom.

opposite

opposite side, observing their camp was not guarded with military vigilance, and that their flank and rear were uncovered, determined to attack them by surprise. Accordingly, fording the river in the night of October the 6th, he attacked them on the flank, while colonel Lee assaulted them on the rear, and defeated them with great slaughter. This victory, which at another time of the year might have been attended only with temporary advantages, from the advanced season proved decisive. Great rains falling, and winter approaching, the enemy, having seized no posts fit for winter quarters, evacuated Estremadura, and returned to the frontiers of Spain. Thus, after partial success, they were entirely defeated in the great object of the campaign; and the unjust ambition, which had stimulated the Bourbons to war with Portugal, ended in disappointment, and disaster to themselves.

1762. Spaniards defeated.

In winter 1761-2, at a time when the king of Prussia's affairs appeared to be at the lowest ebb, and when, from the events of the preceding campaign and the progress of the enemy, little doubt was entertained that, in the ensuing summer, the combined parties would attain their object in the dismemberment of his dominions, an event took place which made a total change in the situation of the contending parties. This was the death of the empress Elizabeth of Russia, the zealous friend of the house of Austria, and the inveterate enemy of Frederic, on the 2d of January 1762. Elizabeth's enmity to the Prussian king in some degree arose from resentment, but was much more the result of ambitious policy. By conquering Prussia, in addition to the extent of coast which she already possessed on the Baltic, she would have the means of becoming a very great maritime power, the first object of the Russian sovereign since czar Peter the Great. She would also open the way to an irresistible power in Poland, and be able to over-awe Denmark,

Affairs of Frederic.

Death of Elizabeth of Russia:

and

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and her ancient rival Sweden; but if the power of the king of Prussia continued entire, these great objects could not be attained. Peter, her heir, was partial to the king of Prussia; and, as we have seen, used his influence, in 1758, to call off the Russians. On his accession to the throne, he immediately concluded a peace and an alliance with Prussia; and the Russian army in a short time joined the troops of Frederic against Austria. At this time, Sweden, which had been principally directed by Russia, also made peace with the Prussian king. This was a most unexpected revolution in Frederic's favour, as it left him, now supported by Russia, to contend with Austria only.

favourable to Frederic.

A TREATY had been annually renewed between Britain and Prussia, by which they engaged not to conclude a peace without mutual consent; and this year the British government refused the renewal. Frederic exclaimed bitterly against this conduct as a breach of faith[e], but without reason: the engagement being expired, its renewal was no longer a question of justice, but of policy. When the king of Prussia was pressed by a combination of enemies, it became necessary for Britain to support him in order to preserve the balance of power, but now he was more than a match for his enemies. Though it was our interest to prevent him from being overwhelmed, we had no interest in promoting his ambition; the war in Germany, therefore, was continued, not to support Frederic, but to oppose France.

Operations of prince Ferdinand.

THE French were in possession of Cassel, and great part of Westphalia. Marshal Broglio was now displaced from the command; the prince de Soubise succeeded to his employment of general in chief, and marshal d'Estrees was second in command. The French this year maintained only one army in Germany, with a reserve under the prince of Condé,

[e] See his Seven-years War—winter 1761-2.

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to cover the Lower Rhine; and their object, as in the former year, was to penetrate into Hanover. Prince Ferdinand's purpose was nearly the same as in the preceding campaign, to dispossess the enemy of their conquests, and drive them out of Germany. He sent the hereditary prince to oppose Condé, while he himself formed his measures against the main army. The French, at the opening of the campaign, were strongly posted on the frontiers of Hesse at a place called Graebestein; and, trusting to their position, apprehended no attack from prince Ferdinand. The prince, however, made a general assault upon the camp on the 4th of July; in which, by his skill and intrepidity, the valour of his whole army, and particularly the courage and activity of the marquis of Granby, he gained so great a victory, as to give him a decided superiority through the whole campaign. Every measure of prince Ferdinand was part of a well-digested and arranged plan; so that when successful, he was able to make the best use of his advantage. Lord Granby and lord Frederic Cavendish were sent forward in pursuit of a numerous body of French that were stationed at Horn, in order to preserve the communication between the main army and Frankfort. The English commanders attacked the enemy with such vigour on the 6th of July, that though they defended themselves valiantly, they were defeated and routed. By this victory, the intercourse with their magazines at Frankfort was entirely intercepted; and they now found it necessary to evacuate Gottingen. Prince Ferdinand attacked prince Xavier, who commanded the Saxon auxiliaries in the French pay at the Fulda, and defeated him; but marshal d'Estrees coming to his support, saved him from utter destruction. The French generals, being straitened for provisions and hard pressed on every side, thought it expedient to call the prince of Condé to their assistance.

Atchievement of Granby and the English troops.

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1762. Success of the allies.

ance. The hereditary prince, finding that the reserves of the enemy were preparing to join the main army, made dispositions for obstructing their progress. Prince Ferdinand endeavoured to bring the French to battle before the junction could be effected, and proposed to ford the Fulda and make a general attack on the 8th of August; but, immense rains having fallen, the river was impassable. The general of the allies sent his second nephew, prince Frederic of Brunswic, towards Cassel, with a view to blockade that place. The hereditary prince watched the prince of Condé so closely, that he could not advance to join the main army; and the prince de Soubise, therefore, was obliged to retreat to join the reserves. The hereditary prince, on the 30th of August, attacked a body of French, which he conceived to be a detachment; but soon found that it was the vanguard of Soubise's army. His serene highness defended himself with his usual conduct and intrepidity; but, being pressed by superiority of numbers, and dangerously wounded, his troops were obliged to give way. This misfortune for a time disconcerted prince Ferdinand's plan; but having with the utmost dispatch collected the routed forces, he again prepared to act on the offensive; and prince Soubise, to avoid an engagement, retired. Prince Ferdinand's army being now between the French and Cassel, prince Frederic regularly invested that city on the 15th of October, and on the 7th of November, it surrendered by capitulation, and the whole of Hesse was recovered. Thus, in the campaign of 1762, the French, who had projected to conquer Hanover, were, by the skill and courage of prince Ferdinand, the hereditary prince, and lord Granby, driven from their former conquests.

The enemy are driven from Germany.

Campaign of Frederic.

THE king of Prussia, instead of being obliged to act on the defensive, was now enabled to resume offensive operations. His object was, to recover Silesia, compel marshal Daun, who was posted there, to retire

tire to Bohemia, and afterwards to reinforce prince Henry (now in Saxony), and a second time conquer that electorate. To distract the attention of marshal Daun, he employed a body of troops to assist the Tartars, whom he had instigated to harass Hungary and Moravia. In June, Frederic being joined by the Russians, made great advances, and, without any regular battle, obliged marshal Daun to abandon very strong posts in Silesia, to retire to the extremities of that country, and leave Schweidnitz entirely uncovered. With his Russian auxiliaries Frederic now prepared to invest that city, and a considerable body of those allies ravaged Bohemia; when a very unexpected and extraordinary revolution threatened to overturn his plan of operations.

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Peter III. of Russia.

Peter III. no sooner ascended the throne of Russia, than he shewed that he had fallen into one of the most fatal errors which a sovereign of ordinary capacity can commit: this was, the adoption of the example of a very able and extraordinary ruler for the model of his conduct. Peter, indeed, chose two very great men for his patterns; his grandfather czar Peter the Great, in civil and political; and the king of Prussia, in military departments. The government of Russia, absolutely despotic, is, from this very despotism, the most insecure to its holder, unless he has the policy to conciliate the affections of its supporters. Fear being the principle of a despotic government, its most effectual props are gloomy superstition and military force; accordingly in Russia, priests and soldiers were the chief stays of the emperor's authority, and with both these bodies Peter imprudently contended. He began, like Peter I., with opposing the exorbitant pretensions of the Russian clergy, and ventured to appropriate their possessions to the public revenue. The Russians were the slaves of the most abject superstition that could enchain ignorant minds, and valued their priests more than their monarch. The extraordinary qualities

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ties of the first Peter, and the benefits accruing from them to the country, had given to him a superiority over any of their clergy, even in the estimation of the bigoted barbarians whom he governed; but in the character of his grandson, there was nothing which would excite such veneration, or confer such influence. The boundless admiration of Peter for the king of Prussia extended to the adoption of his religious opinions, and operated in a line of conduct which that king was too wise to pursue. He interfered with the institutions that were venerated by his people, and obstructed rites and ceremonies, which, however trivial in themselves, no wise governor will interrupt when associated by his subjects with religious doctrines and sentiments. Desirous of innovation, but narrow in understanding, he pursued it in objects commensurate to the littleness of his own mind. He proposed changes in the dress of the clergy, and that the ecclesiastics should no longer, as before, be distinguished by beards. To this momentous change he added also some new regulations about images and pictures in churches. From this attack upon the beards of the living, and the pictures of the deceased, together with various other alterations, his subjects apprehended their prince to be a heretic, if not an infidel. In the seizure of the revenues, however, the clergy found the most dangerous apostacy from the purity of the Greek church, and regarded his reforms with dread and resentment: with them also the other powerful body, the army, concurred in discontent. The same admiration of the king of Prussia made Peter extravagantly fond of his military discipline; and being a native of Holstein, he was farther induced to this preference by a national partiality. He was evidently most attached to the German guards, in preference to the native Russians. He himself wore the Prussian uniform, and obliged his soldiers to adopt that dress, and abandon the modes with which in their minds the

the glory of Russia was associated: in short, he disgusted the Russian army. The king of Prussia foresaw the dangers of his ally from these precipitate changes, and frequently, by private letters and messengers, endeavoured to dissuade him from persisting in his present conduct; his dissuasives, however, were unavailing. Meanwhile Peter was preparing to go to war with Denmark, on account of a dispute between that country and Holstein, in which Russia had no concern. This project increased the disaffection of his subjects, who considered themselves as sacrificed to German interests, and a conspiracy was formed against his government. As Peter had alienated the affections of his subjects, he had long lost those of his own family. His wife Catharine, a princess of the house of Anhalt Zerbst, was a woman of powerful understanding and boundless ambition.[f] Prone to the gallantry so prevalent at the dissolute court of the voluptuous Elizabeth, her love of pleasure was secondary to her love of power: her most distinguished favourites were paramours of such talents and qualities as could well promote great designs. For the last seven years of Elizabeth's reign, Peter and she had rarely cohabited; each was occupied with their respective intrigues. Catharine, too able and prudent to neglect appearances, was somewhat attentive to concealment; while Peter, from the silly vanity of a weak understanding, was ostentatious in the display of amours. He lived openly with the countess of Woronzoff; and was even suspected to intend confining the empress, and raising his courtezan to the throne. The principal nobles and chief officers of the state and army formed a combination to depose a prince, who was hated for his conduct, and despised for his incapacity. So little was the czar informed respecting his most momentous interests, that the conspiracy became gene-

Catharine.

[f] See Memoirs of Catharine II.

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ral, and the clergy were met for his deposition, before he knew that such a step had been projected. Catharine, understanding that the design was declared, immediately wrote to Petersburgh, and harangued the guards, who unanimously declared Peter deposed, and the empress independent sovereign of Russia. This act being applauded by the nobility and clergy, Catharine, at the head of her troops, marched towards a country-seat in which Peter resided. The weak and timid prince, being informed that he was no longer emperor of Russia, quickly wrote letters renouncing the sovereignty, and requested leave to retire to his native Holstein with his mistress; but this leave was denied. He was farther intimidated to sign a paper, declaring his incapacity for government, the weakness and folly of his administration, and the necessity of his deposition: he was thrown into prison, where in a few days, on the 6th of July, he died of what was called an hæmorrhoidal colic, the causes and symptoms of which it belongs not to this history to investigate.

1762. Revolution in Russia.

Death of Peter.

HAVING ascended the throne of Russia, Catharine fearing that the Prussian king might prevail on the Russian troops who served in his army to declare in favour of Peter, ordered them to withdraw from Silesia into Poland. Frederic, contrary to her apprehensions, made no opposition to their departure; he only requested that it might be deferred for three days, to which the general very readily consented. The Austrian commanders were ignorant of the revolution in Russia. Frederic, trusting to their conviction that the Russians were co-operating with him, attacked Marshal Daun, compelled him to retire, and by this means rendered the siege of Schweidnitz still practicable. Though he was now deprived of auxiliaries, he invested the town on the 20th of September, and soon compelled it to surrender. In Saxony, prince Henry had been no less successful, when, towards the close of the campaign,

he was reinforced by his royal brother; and all the conquests that he had atchieved in that country early in the war, and lost the last campaign, were completely recovered. CHAP III. 1762.

Birth of the prince of Wales.

In the internal history of England the most material event which happened this summer, was the birth of a son and heir to their majesties. On the 12th of August, between seven and eight in the morning, the queen was safely delivered of a prince. Just after this important accession to the royal family was announced, the treasures of the captured ship Hermione, drawn in waggons, and escorted by troops from Portsmouth to London, entered St. James's-street in a grand procession. His majesty and the nobility went to the palace windows, and joined with the acclamations of the people on two such joyful occasions. The young prince, from his birth electoral prince of Brunswic Luneburg, duke of Cornwall and Rothsay, earl of Carric, baron of Renfrew, lord of the Isles, and great steward of Scotland, was, on the 17th, by letters patent under the seal of Great Britain, created prince of Wales and earl of Chester. On the 8th of September, the anniversary of the royal marriage, his highness was christened by his grace the archbishop of Canterbury, the duke of Cumberland and the duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz being godfathers, and the princess dowager godmother. The young prince was named George Augustus Frederic.

The belligerent powers manifest pacific dispositions.

The court of France, in the events of this campaign, found that the expectations which had been formed from the family compact were entirely disappointed. Spain saw that her interference to assist the principal branch of the Bourbons, instead of producing the desired effect to her ally, was involving herself in similar disasters and humiliation. They both began to wish sincerely for peace, and were in a disposition to purchase it by

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very great concessions. In Britain, changes had taken place which rendered the re-establishment of tranquillity much less difficult. From the commencement of his administration, the earl of Bute had shewn a disposition to procure peace as soon as it could be concluded with sound policy and national honour; and, though patriotism may have had its share in exciting this desire, yet there were other causes which no doubt co-operated. These are to be found in the character of the Bute administration, the state of parties, and of the public mind. The earl of Bute had for some months been first lord of the treasury, and the greater number of whigs had either been dismissed, or resigned; so that there was a formidable confederacy hostile to the present minister. A less numerous but more able body, headed by Mr. Pitt, without coalescing with the Newcastle party, was adverse to the ministry. From the known attachment of his majesty to the earl of Bute, that nobleman was accounted the private and confidential friend of the king. Being decorated with honours at the commencement of the reign, and soon after promoted to high office, which was not in the public estimation conferred upon his political talents and virtues, he was generally esteemed and styled the royal FAVOURITE. Though his majesty himself proposed to govern the kingdom by wisdom and virtue, and not by party, yet that was thought to be far from lord Bute's object. Since, by the appointment of him and his friends, the nation did not conceive that there was an accession of wisdom or virtue to his majesty's counsels; and since their rise was imputed to private favour and not public merit, it was apprehended that the project of the minister was to govern by what his opponents called a system of mere court favouritism. The supposed operation of this plan was exhibited with great force and eloquence, both by speakers in parliament

Conduct and situation of lord Bute

liament and political writers.[s] The deportment of Bute was by no means such as tended to counteract this unpopularity. Notwithstanding his erudition and knowledge, he had imbibed the pride and prejudices of a Scottish chieftain. With exemplary morals, he was reserved and haughty in his manners, and in that respect as different from the frank affable duke of Newcastle, as in point of abilities from Mr. Pitt. He was, besides, charged by the whigs with being the friend of arbitrary power. In his appointment to subordinate offices, he had frequently removed Englishmen of known and respectable characters, to make room for Scotchmen, who, however respectable, were not known, and were presumed to be the abettors of arbitrary power; and this partiality increased the popular ferment. The whig party had been uniformly connected with the monied interest, and Pitt possessed the most unlimited confidence of that important body of men. The supplies of the current year had been raised while the duke of Newcastle was at the head of the treasury. On lord Bute they had no reliance; and in the year which was to follow, the capitalists were more likely to obstruct than to facilitate the supplies. A great host of opposition, though in two divisions yet one in enmity to the minister, appeared ready to attack him when parliament should be assembled. So thwarted and obstructed, to carry on the war with the force and success which the nation, exulting in recent victory, expected, would, he conceived, be impracticable. Besides, he thought the actual resources of the country were nearly exhausted, and that another campaign would produce financial distress; the difficulties of perseverance in attempting to reduce the power of Bourbon, therefore, appeared to his mind as impossibilities: for all these reasons,

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render him favourable to peace.

[s] The substance and spirit of all that was said, or perhaps could be said, upon this subject, may be seen in Mr. Burke's celebrated pamphlet on the Discontents, published in the Grafton administration.

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he was desirous that a negociation should be commenced.

1762. Negociations.

THE king of Sardinia, the friend of the contending states on both sides, understanding their respective and relative dispositions, offered so far to interfere, as to communicate them to each of the parties. The belligerent powers very readily consented to open a negociation; and it was agreed, that a person of the first distinction should be reciprocally sent to London and Paris. The duke de Nivernois came on the part of France, and the duke of Bedford went on the part of England, in September 1762. In the negociation of 1761, a principle had been established between the two crowns, that their respective propositions, if the treaty were broken off, should be considered as retracted, and as never made: the negociation of 1762, therefore, was not a renewal of that of 1761. Still, however, from the similiarity of circumstances, it assumed somewhat of a similar spirit, so far as regarded the peculiar interests of Great Britain; and respecting Germany, there was a very material difference.

Terms.

FRANCE and England both recurred to the original cause of the war, the limits of the North American territories. The French king not only renounced all pretensions to Nova Scotia, but ceded the whole of Canada and its dependencies, including Louisiana; and whereas the French had pretended a right to the country which reaches from the Ohio to St. Lawrence, and had built a train of forts to command the communication, his christian majesty ceded the whole of that tract, and also the forts and settlements. Spain relinquished Florida; so that from Hudson's Bay to the southern cape of Florida, from the Atlantic to the confines of New Mexico, the continent of North America was a part of the British empire. To command the navigation of St. Lawrence, and to secure the possessions of her northern acquisitions, Britain was to retain

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the islands of Cape Breton and St. John. We were to give up to the French the small islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon near Newfoundland. By the treaty of Utrecht, the Newfoundland fishery had been divided between France and England. Britain wished her rival now to relinquish the whole, but France would not hearken to the proposal; at length a compromise was made, by which Britain was to possess the greater share. The next object was the West Indies, which was one of the chief sources of commerce, wealth, and maritime force to our enemies; here we had made great conquests; the question was, whether we should retain them, as acquisitions to ourselves, and as an increased security for a PERMANENT peace, by diminishing to the opposite party the means of war; or without carrying our views to distant objects, sacrifice them, in order to facilitate an immediate peace. The British ministers favoured the latter alternative. We ceded to Spain the Havannah, with a considerable part of Cuba; to France, the islands of Martinico, Guadaloupe, Marigalante, Desirade, and St. Lucia. We retained the islands of Tobago, Dominica, St. Vincent's, and the Grenades. To the three former (as well as to St. Lucia, which surrendered) Britain had an old claim; the last only was a new acquisition, and the three others were then of little value. Spain consented that the English should without disturbance cut logwood in the Bay of Honduras. In Europe, Belleisle was restored to the French, Minorca to the English, and the fortifications of Dunkirk were to be destroyed, according to former treaties. In Africa, Goree was restored to France, and Senegal retained by England. In the East Indies, Britain returned all the French factories and settlements; France having stipulated to erect no fortifications in Bengal or Orissa, and to acknowledge the reigning subahs of Bengal, the Decan, and the Carnatic.

CONCERNING

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1762. Peace concluded.

CONCERNING our allies, it was agreed, that the French and Spaniards should evacuate Portugal, and that France and Britain should observe a strict neutrality respecting the disputes in Germany; that each should withdraw their forces, and discontinue subsidies. Such are the outlines of the peace, of which the preliminaries were signed and interchanged on the 3d of November 1762, between the ministers of Great Britain, France, Spain, and Portugal.

Meeting of parliament.

ON the 25th of November, parliament met: his majesty's speech described the successes obtained in various quarters of the world by the perseverance and valour of his land and sea forces; and stated, as the consequence of those victories, that the enemy had made peace on terms highly advantageous to Britain; by which his territories were greatly augmented, and new sources were opened for trade and manufactures. He recommended attention to the improvement of our acquisitions, and firmness and unanimity as the surest means of rendering the advantages of the peace more extensive and permanent.

The peace discussed, December 9th.

THE preliminaries underwent a very able discussion in both houses. Mr. Pitt attacked them as derogatory to the honour and interests of the kingdom, as being totally inadequate to the terms which our successes might have commanded, as a surrender of those advantages which our glorious efforts had procured to ourselves, and a sacrifice of public faith in the abandonment of our allies. These general objections he and others illustrated by a detailed inquiry into the several articles.

Arguments against it.

France, it was contended, was chiefly formidable to us as a maritime and commercial nation. Though we had acquired an extensive territory in America, yet by our stipulation respecting the Newfoundland fishery, we had left her a nursery of seamen; by the restoration of her West India possessions, we had given

given her back the means of a most beneficial commerce; and thus had put her in the way of recovering her losses, and being again formidable on our own element. The fishery formed a multitude of seamen, and the West India islands employed them when fully trained. France, by possessing a much greater quantity of sugar land, had been long superior to us in this lucrative branch of commerce. She had thus enriched her merchants, increased her revenue, and strengthened her navy: why then, after we had in a just and necessary war deprived her of such valuable possessions, should we restore to her the means of again annoying ourselves? The retention of the considerable French plantations, was necessary to the permanent security of a peace. Besides, after so expensive a war, our victories gave us a claim to some indemnification; in that view, the islands would have been the most productive of our conquests. Our acquisitions in America might tend to our security, but it would be very long before they could lead to our indemnification. They neither increased in any important degree our commerce, nor diminished the commerce of France; but the West India islands, if retained, would have been an immediate great gain to Britain, and loss to our rival. The retention of the West Indies was farther necessary to the improvement of our acquisitions in North America, and also to our commerce with Africa. In that event, it was argued, the African trade would have been augmented by the demand for slaves, and the trade of North America would have all centered in Britain; whereas, the islands being restored, a great part of the northern colony trade must fall, as it had hitherto done, to those who had lately been our enemies, and would still be our rivals. For these reasons, either Martinico or Guadaloupe, or even both, should have been retained by Britain. The cessions made in Africa and in the East Indies would have fully

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fully justified the reservation to ourselves of our West India conquests. Provident policy required that we should have reserved those possessions, and our resources and resistless naval strength would have enabled us to retain them, in defiance of the enemy. If in the negociation, availing ourselves of our advantages, we had decisively refused such cessions, the enemy would not have adhered to the requisition, with the alternative of the continued war; or had they been so obstinate, British force would soon have reduced them to compliance. Concerning our ally the king of Prussia, it was insisted, that, in deserting his interests, we had violated the national faith.[h]

Arguments for it.

SUCH were the arguments adduced both in and out of parliament by those who disapproved of the peace, which the minister and his supporters answered to the following effect. The original object of hostilities was, the security of our continental possessions in North America; the dangers to which these colonies had been exposed, and the expensive and bloody war resulting to Great Britain from those dangers, rendered it necessary to prevent the possibility of their recurrence. Experience had shewn, that while France possessed a single place on the continent of America, we should never be secure from a renewal of hostilities: the removal of the French from our neighbourhood in that country, was therefore the most effectual means of preventing future war.[i] The security so produced

[h] The writings of those times charged the minister with very gross breach of faith and base treachery, in endeavouring to stimulate both Austria and Russia against Prussia, while he was professing the greatest zeal for the security of that prince; but no authentic evidence is adduced to support the allegation. See History of the Minority, 1762, 1763, 1764, 1765.

[i] It has been frequently alleged by speculative politicians, that this very removal of the French from our American colonies, by freeing them from the apprehension of a foreign enemy, encouraged that proud and refractory spirit which ended in revolution. This, however, appears to be a fanciful hypothesis. The Americans were morally certain that the French would join in supporting disaffection, rebellion, and revolt, in order to annoy Great Britain; and they could have contributed their assistance more easily and expeditiously if they had retained part of their North American settlements, than when totally deprived of those possessions. In short, this theory originates in French ingenuity, and not in English reasoning.

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would also tend ultimately to indemnification: as it would not only save us from the necessity of another war, increase our trade and revenue, and lower our debt, but permit our colonies to extend their commerce and population. The population of the colonies had of late very rapidly advanced, and the increase of trade with the mother-country had been proportionate. North America itself would soon afford a demand for our manufactures, and employ almost all the working hands in England. They expatiated on the immense resources to commerce which must arise from the possession of the American continent; and argued, that, great as commercial advantages are, they ought not to be the sole consideration, but that number of subjects and extent of territory contributed no less to the greatness of an empire. France, they said, would never agree to a considerable cession in the West Indies, where the importance of our possessions depended on the North American colonies, from which they derived their principal provisions and other supplies, and that commerce fully compensated for our inferiority in West India productions. *They contended, that the points which the opposite party had proposed to contest, were not of sufficient importance to justify the continuance of the war on their account.* The king of Prussia we had supported as long as he was likely to be overwhelmed by enemies; but now, by his peace with Sweden and Russia, and by the neutrality of France, he had to contend with Austria only, for which he was fully a match. It was the interest of Britain to save Prussia from destruction, but not to promote her ambition.

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The impartial historian, however, who is totally uninterested in the contentions of parties, must differ from both ministry and opposition. On the subject of Prussia, ministers appeared to have judged prudently, as the reason for defending Frederic was the maintenance

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maintenance of the balance of Europe; when that ceased to be in danger, policy no longer required the waste of our blood and treasure in his contests. Concerning the West Indies, our cessions appear by far too great. The reasons alleged by ministers for the dereliction of such valuable possessions, were futile in the present situation and relative force of the parties. *According to their allegations, France would not give up* WHAT SHE HAD ACTUALLY LOST; but if Britain insisted on the reservation, where were her means of recovery? The *principle* on which the cession was justified, was contrary to magnanimous and wise policy. A declared willingness to abandon momentous advantages, rather than continue a contest to secure them when already possessed, directly tended to make the adversary more stubborn, and afforded an injurious example in future contests. To a power transcendent in resources, it can never be a prudent reason for relinquishing valuable interests, that they are not to be maintained without a struggle. Such conduct is really as contrary to pecuniary economy on balancing accounts upon a large scale, as to national dignity and honour. The abandonment of acquisitions affording to the possessor riches and naval strength, tended, as was foreseen, to furnish France with the means of maintaining another war whenever a favourable opportunity offered. It was unnecessary to expatiate on the advantages which we secured by our acquisitions in North America, as a reason for giving up the West Indies; such being our power, that we could not only have obtained, but enforced both. Our great efforts had certainly exposed us to considerable difficulties, and lord Bute had been uniformly anxious to terminate the war. Peace was desirable; but the peace concluded was not so honourable or advantageous as Britain could have dictated, and contained in itself the seeds of dissolution. The definitive

treaty

treaty was signed on the 10th of February 1763, and terminated a war begun by boundless ambition, in which defeat and disaster paid the price of impolitic rapacity, and repeated the lesson which former hostilities had so awfully inculcated, that France, seeking the extension of territory and the augmentation of commerce and naval power, by attacking England, employed the most effectual means to prevent the attainment of her purpose.

THE peace of Fountainbleau, however, though certainly by no means the best which Britain might have concluded in the existing circumstances, produced against its framers obloquy and invectives which they did not deserve. It was openly and loudly asserted, that the earl of Bute entertained the ancient Scotch partiality for France, and intentionally betrayed his king and country.[k] It was very plainly insinuated, that the duke of Bedford had been actually bribed by the court of Versailles to conclude a peace on such terms.[l] Improbable as these charges were in their nature, and totally unsupported by any extrinsic evidence, yet during the public ferment they obtained very general credit. The tide of popular odium ran extremely high: demagogues never fail to increase the fury of a populace already inflamed, and on the present occasion an additional subject was not long wanting. The war had made a prodigious increase in the encumbrances of the country, and there was such an arrear of floating debt as to render a very large loan necessary; the people, however, could not so clearly see the necessity of taxes being no less requisite at the conclusion, than during the continuance of an expensive war. While exulting in victory, and elated with hopes of crushing their ancient enemy, they did not repine at expence; but

[k] See North Briton, and Junius's Letters to the duke of Bedford.

[l] See Junius's Letter to the duke of Bedford.

now

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1763. Finance.

now such flattering expectations were terminated by a peace, which was generally disapproved. Ministers were aware, that in such a disposition no scheme of supply would be well received. They therefore determined to impose as few taxes as the public service could possibly admit. The nation, they contended, was exhausted, and it was therefore necessary to repair our finances by the most rigid economy. In pursuance of this plan, they proposed to raise the supplies, first, by taking 2,000,000*l.* out of the sinking fund; secondly, by issuing 1,800,000*l.* in exchequer bills; thirdly, by borrowing 2,800,000*l.* on annuities; and, lastly, by two lotteries for 350,000*l.* each. The rest of the supplies were necessarily raised by taxes. The principle of taxation under the Bute ministry was, to subject luxuries, and not necessaries, to imposts for the exigencies of the state. The luxuries of the lower ranks are, on the whole, a much more productive source of revenue, than those of the higher; it was therefore expedient to include the poor as well as the rich: there were taxes upon beer, ale, and porter directly, and indirectly in that upon malt; as well as upon wine, on which, in this session, an additional duty was imposed. Cyder hitherto had been subject to no impost; it was judged expedient this year to tax that beverage, though in a less proportion than ale and porter, to which in its nature, and in the situation of its principal consumers, it was held most analogus; and to levy it by the same mode, *an excise*. Those who examine the nature and operation of different modes of levying taxes, can very easily perceive, that excise is less burdensome to the consumer, than any equivalent raised in customs. Customs, though advanced by the merchant, must ultimately fall on the consumer; as the merchant must not only be reimbursed, but have a profit on all his advance, it follows, that the earlier in trade customs are paid for any commodity, the heavier they

Cyder tax.

they must fall on the consumer. The excise being levied on commodities in use, and paid by the consumer, does not require him to reimburse the merchant for his advance, nor to contribute to his profits. But in customs, the tax being involved in the price of the commodity, is not felt as a tax: whereas excise is immediately felt, and, though really lighter, is imagined to be heavier.[m] From this unfounded supposition, excise is a much more unpopular mode of taxation, than customs. Two circumstances add to the unpopularity of this species of tax—the necessary procedure of the tax-gatherers, and the established mode of trial. The visits of excise officers, it is alleged, are inconsistent with the rights of an Englishman, according to which his house is his castle; yet it is obvious, that there are many other instances in which that castle must be entered for the public good. The next is, the summary process before commissioners, instead of trial by jury; which is really mercy, and not severity, to delinquents. The expence and delay of prosecutions, either by action or indictment, would fall infinitely heavier on defendants, than this expeditious manner of ascertaining the matter in dispute.[n] The excise is a much more effectual mode of preventing contraband dealing, than customs; and therefore smugglers are much more interested in abetting the unpopularity to which it is liable from vulgar and inveterate prejudices. From all these causes, every scheme for extending the excise has never failed to excite great opposition and tumult in this country. Sir Robert Walpole's famous scheme, firmly as he was established by the favour of the king and the great whig confederacy, had nearly cost him his place, and was obliged to be abandoned. The enmity to the excise was still undiminished, and was likely to exert itself with redoubled fury

[m] See Dr. Smith's Wealth of Nations.
[n] See Blackstone's Commentaries, b. iv. p. 281.

against

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against a minister otherwise so unpopular. The cyder tax in itself appears to have been as fair and equitable as any that could have been devised; it merely made those who chose to regale themselves with a distillation from apples, contribute to the revenue, as well as those who chose to regale themselves with a distillation from barley: its prudence, however, was questionable. Great and able statesmen will not be deterred from plans of national benefit, by the misapprehension of popular prejudices and ignorance; because they know, that, though some of their acts may incur censure, their general measures and conduct, which command the veneration of their countrymen, will ultimately prevail over occasional disapprobation. But lord Bute must have been aware, that he was not an object of veneration, since no pains were spared to convince him, that by the majority of Englishmen he was regarded with abhorrence and contempt; that he was the last man who could overbear popular prejudice, however sound the argument might be to justify his financial measures. It was therefore impolitic in him to propose, and still more unwise inflexibly to pursue this tax, though in itself unobjectionable. He however did persist; and, strong as the opposition [o] was in both houses, loud and violent as the clamours were throughout the kingdom, the bill passed into a law. In pamphlets and periodical publications, and in all popular meetings

[o] The ablest opponent of this tax was Mr. Pitt. That statesman denied the general position of ministers, that the nation was exhausted. There were still resources for carrying on the war longer, and much more towards clearing off encumbrances on the peace. As we were necessarily involved in an immense debt, our wisest policy in such circumstances would be, by liberal and comprehensive grants to add as much as possible to the national income. After discussing in detail the other parts of the financial scheme, he came to the cyder tax, against which he directed the force of his eloquence. Mr. Grenville in answer contended, that it was unavoidable. Where (said he) can we lay another tax of equal efficiency? does Mr. Pitt tell us where we can lay another tax. He several times repeated, "Tell me, where you can lay another tax?" Mr. Pitt replied to him in a musical tone, in the words of a favourite song, "Gentle shepherd, tell me where?" Mr. Grenville ever after retained the denomination of *gentle shepherd*.

in

in the city of London, which were entirely directed by opposition, this act was represented as part of a general scheme formed by lord Bute for plundering England, to gratify the rapacity of Scotchmen [p], and for establishing arbitrary power.

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WHILE the minister was by numbers considered, and by many more represented, as meditating the most destructive designs to be effected by his power, to the surprise of the public, as soon as his financial measures were passed, he relinquished his employment, "Having (he said) restored peace to the world, performed his engagements, and established a connexion so strong as no longer to need his assistance, he would now depart to the domestic and literary retirement which he loved."

Unexpected resignation of lord Bute.

FEW ministers have been more generally hated than lord Bute was by the English nation; yet, if we estimate his conduct from facts, without being influenced by local or temporary prejudices, we can by no means find just grounds for the odium which he incurred. It is true, an impartial reviewer can find nothing in his political character to justify the praises of some of his supporters, but still less will be found to justify the obloquy of many of his satirists. As a war minister, though his plans discovered little of original genius, and naturally proceeded from the measures of his predecessor, the general state of our resources, the conquests atchieved, and the disposition of our fleets and armies, yet they were judicious; the agents appointed to carry them into execution were selected with discernment, and the whole result was successful. His desire of peace, after so long and burdensome a war, was laudable, but perhaps too eagerly manifested. As a negociator, he did not procure the best terms which, from our superiority, might

[p] See North Briton, No. 43; Churchill's Poems; History of the Minority and other popular writings of the time.

have

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have been obtained. His project of finance [q], in itself unobjectionable, derived its impolicy from the unpopularity of his administration. Exposed from unfounded prejudices to calumny, he deserved and earned dislike by his haughty deportment. The manners which custom might have sanctioned from an imperious chieftain to his servile retainers in a remote corner of the island, did not suit the independent spirit of the English metropolis. The respectable mediocrity of his talents with the suitable attainments, and his decent moral character, deserved an esteem which his manners precluded. Since he could not, like Pitt, command by superior genius, he ought, like the duke of Newcastle, to have conciliated by affable demeanour. His partisans have praised the tenacity of lord Bute in his purposes; a quality which, guided by wisdom in the pursuit of right objects, and combined with power to render success ultimately probable, is magnanimous firmness; but without these requisites, is stubborn obstinacy. No charge has been more frequently made against lord Bute, than that he was a promoter of arbitrary principles and measures. This is an accusation for which its supporters could find no grounds in his particular acts; they endeavoured, therefore, to establish their assertion by circuitous arguments. Lord Bute had been the means of dispossessing the whig connexion of power, and had given Scotchmen appointments which were formerly held by the friends of the duke of Newcastle. To impartial investigation, however, it appears evident that lord Bute merely preferred himself, as a minister, to the duke of Newcastle: if we examine his particular nominations, we shall find that he neither exalted the friends of liberty nor despotism, but *his own friends*. It would pro-

[q] His loan was much censured, as affording extravagant terms to the lender, and bestowing the principal shares upon Scotchmen. This charge, however, though in some measure true, was greatly exaggerated.

bably,

bably have been better for this country had lord Bute never been minister; but all the evils that may be traced to that period, did not necessarily proceed from his measures, as many of them flowed from circumstances over which he had no control. Candour must allow, that the comprehensive principle on which his majesty resolved to govern, was liberal and meritorious, though patriotism may regret that he was not more fortunate in his first choice. The administration of lord Bute teaches an instructive lesson, that no man can be long an effectual minister of this country, who will not occasionally attend, not only to the well-founded judgment, but also to the prejudices, of Englishmen.

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George Grenville prime minister.—Violent writings.—North Briton. — John Wilkes — his character. — Proceedings against him.— Outcry against ministers.—Wilkes engrosses the chief attention of the public.—Meeting of parliament.—Animadversions on Mr. Wilkes—he is expelled the commons—in the lords charged by the earl of Sandwich with an impious and immoral libel—withdraws into France to avoid prosecution — is outlawed. — His cause continues popular.—Prejudices against Scotchmen.—Churchill's satires.—Question on the legality of general warrants.—Waived by a ministerial majority.—Mr. Grenville's character and schemes of finance—his measures for the suppression of smuggling—he intimates a project of taxing America.—Marriage of the prince of Brunswic to the princess Augusta of England.—Prince Frederic, the king's second son, appointed bishop of Osnaburg.—Session rises.—Affairs of Europe.—France experiences the effects of her impolitic wars.—Pecuniary embarrassments and refractory parliaments.—Beginning spirit of liberty.—Austria.—Prussia.—Catharine of Russia.—Election of the king of Poland.—Joseph, heir of Austria, chosen king of the Romans.—American colonies.—Effect of the minister's intimation in the colonies.—Meeting of Parliament.—The minister's plan for levying stamp duties on America—important debates in parliament thereon—opposed on two grounds, right, and expediency—represented as a dangerous innovation against beneficial experience—passed into a law.—Stamp-act, an important epoch in history.—Ferment in the colonies.—Massachuset's bay takes the lead in opposition, and instigates concerted resistance.—Annexation of the Isle of Man to the crown of Great Britain.—Indisposition of the king.—Bill for a regency in case of a minority.—Ministers lose the favour of the court—are dismissed from administration.

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ON the resignation of lord Bute, the honourable George Grenville, brother of earl Temple, became prime minister; lords Egremont and Halifax

continued secretaries of state; and the earl of Sandwich was appointed first lord of the admiralty, in the room of Mr. Grenville. As the present ministers were all intimately connected with lord Bute, it was believed that his influence continued to predominate, and that his maxims were still adopted. Party-rage increased in virulence, and the press teemed with invective. During the administration of lord Bute, government had appeared totally indifferent to these attacks; but an essay published a few days after his retirement, changed its plan. One of the most abusive assailants of the late minister had been the North Briton, which was begun in the preceding year, and being continued periodically, had, at the resignation of lord Bute, sent forty-four numbers into the world; and to this work the celebrated Mr. Wilkes was an occasional contributor.

1763. Mr. Grenville prime minister.

JOHN Wilkes, esq. member for Aylesbury, was a man of ready ingenuity, versatile talents, taste, and classical erudition; he was distinguished for wit and pleasantry, and surpassed most men as an entertaining and engaging companion. He was not, however, eminent as a senator or a lawgiver; he was extremely dissipated; as indifferent to religion as to morals, and to his pecuniary circumstances as to either.[a] Prodigality had ruined his fortune, and profligacy his character. Bankrupt in circumstances and reputation, he had applied to lord Bute to extricate him from his difficulties. His character was so notorious, that a statesman who regarded religion and morality could not patronise him, though he might have easily rendered him a tool. Wilkes in revenge became a flaming patriot, inveighed against the attacks upon our rights and liberties, and against

John Wilkes.

[a] The character of Mr. Wilkes is accurately, justly, and severely drawn, in a celebrated publication of those times, intitled, The Adventures of a Guinea, vol. iv.

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1763. The North Briton.

the unprincipled wickedness of the rulers; and the North Briton was one of the chief vehicles of his animadversions. The observations and arguments in this work were merely declamatory invectives, and the echoes of vulgar prejudices, which nothing but popular prepossession could have preserved from contempt. That abuse which preceding North Britons had poured out against lord Bute and Scotchmen, No. 45. had the audacity to direct with increased scurrility against the sovereign. The matter was false and absurd; the language used by a subject to a sovereign, was totally unworthy of the pen of a gentleman: the wickedness of the intention, and insolence of the address, deserved detestation; but the frothy feebleness of the execution ought to have overwhelmed that sentiment in contemptuous neglect. The course which ministry pursued gave a consequence both to the paper and its author which the intrinsic merit of either would never have attained. On the 23d of April 1763, this number was published, and it was no sooner perused by ministry, than a council was called, and an immediate prosecution proposed. The chief justice Mansfield declared his disapprobation of that mode of procedure: "I am (he said) decidedly against the prosecution: his consequence will die away, if you let him alone; but by public notice of him, you will increase that consequence; which is the very thing he covets, and keeps in full view." The contrary opinion, however, prevailed; and on the 26th, a warrant was issued for seizing the authors, printers, and publishers of the North Briton, N° 45. By the law, a general warrant to apprehend all persons suspected, without specially naming or describing any person, was illegal, and, to use Blackstone's words, "void for its uncertainty; for it is the duty of the MAGISTRATE, and ought not to be left to the *officer*, to judge of the ground of suspicion.

No. 45.

Wilkes is apprehended;

picion."[b] But this mode of procedure, though it was inconsistent with written law, had all the sanctions which it could derive from precedent. It had been used ever since the revolution, and by the successive whig administrations from that time, had never before been called arbitrary, and indeed was nothing but an irregularity. Mr. Wilkes refused to comply with the warrant, but was at last compelled to accompany the messengers to the secretary of state's office; he was committed to the Tower, HIS PAPERS WERE SEIZED, and admission to him was strictly prohibited, until a motion was made in the court of common pleas for a writ of habeas corpus; by virtue of which, on the 3d of May, he was brought into Westminster-hall. That they might have time to form an opinion upon so important a case, the judges deferred decision till the 6th, on which day the lord chief justice Pratt delivered an opinion, that did not, as is commonly alleged, declare general warrants to be illegal, but the warrant in question to be void, on a specific ground, *the privilege of parliament.* Members of the legislature are exempted from arrest, except in three cases, treason, felony, and breach of the peace; and as neither of these applied to the charge against Mr. Wilkes, he was released by the court. This liberation, on account of parliamentary privilege, was by the popular party construed to be a victory gained by an oppressed individual over an arbitrary government, wishing to crush constitutional liberty. The day

and his papers are seized.

He is discharged from confinement.

[b] Blackstone's Commentaries, book iv. p. 291. Judge Blackstone, in a note upon this place, explains how such a proceeding, though actually illegal, came to be reckoned justifiable. "A practice had obtained (he says) in the secretary's office ever since the restoration, grounded on some clauses in the acts for regulating the press, of issuing general warrants to take up (without naming any person in particular) the authors, printers, and publishers of such obscene and seditious libels as were particularly specified in the warrant. When those acts expired in 1694, the same practice was inadvertently continued in every reign, and under every administration (except the last four years of queen Anne), down to the year 1763, when, such a warrant being issued to apprehend the authors, printers, and publishers of a certain seditious libel, its validity was disputed; and the warrant was adjudged by the whole court of king's bench to be void, in the case of Money v. Leach."

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before his release, in consequence of an order from the secretary of state to earl Temple, lord-lieutenant of Buckinghamshire,* he was discharged from the command of the militia of the county; and the attorney-general was directed to commence a prosecution against him for a libel.[c] Mr. Wilkes not only refused to answer the information which the law-officer filed, but on the other hand brought an action against Mr. Wood, under-secretary of state, for seizing his papers; and procured a verdict, with a thousand pounds damages, and full costs of suit. He also commenced a process against lord Halifax, which, however, subsequent occurrences abated.

Popular enthusiasm in his favour.

The proceedings relative to Mr. Wilkes during the year 1763, occupied the principal attention of the whole nation. The popular party represented him as the champion of liberty, and the object of persecution on account of his patriotism. Anti-ministerial writers directed their efforts almost exclusively to the praises of Wilkes, and the abuse of his prosecutors. Every publication of which he was the subject, was read with astonishing avidity. Not the populace merely, but men of real talents and virtue, though they detested his profligacy, considering the freedom of Englishmen as violated in his person, associated the idea of WILKES AND LIBERTY.

WILKES was not slow in availing himself of the popular opinion in his favour. He set up a printing press, and published the proceedings against him at one guinea a copy; by the extraordinary sale of which, he procured a degree of affluence to which he had been long unaccustomed, and a degree of importance which he could never otherwise have

* Lord Temple having supported Mr. Wilkes in combating the prosecutions carried on at the instance of ministers, his lordship also, in officially announcing the dismissal of Mr. Wilkes from the militia, expressed regret for the loss sustained by the county from this resolution. The conduct of lord Temple was so disagreeable to his majesty's counsellors, including his lordship's own brother Mr. Grenville, that he was discharged from the lord lieutenancy of Buckinghamshire. His lordship continued to support Wilkes; but it was evidently on account of his political prosecution, and not from an approbation of his private conduct and character. See History of the Minority; Universal and Gentleman's Magazines for 1763.

established.

established. Finally, he expressed his resolution of making the proceedings against him a subject of formal complaint in parliament.

1763.

State of the ministry.

THE ministers who now conducted public affairs were wanting, if not in talents, at least in influence and estimation. Their supposed dependence prevented both respect and popularity; and the proceedings against Mr. Wilkes, which were presumed to originate with lord Bute, rendered his conceived tools hateful as a body, however meritorious some of the members were individually accounted. George Grenville, a man of sound understanding, with a resolute heart, and fair and unimpeached integrity, had been, during the greater part of his public life, the friend and partisan of his brother-in-law Mr. Pitt; and, though deserving of respect and influence on his own account, had been indebted for actual consideration to his connexion with that illustrious character. His personal importance was by no means sufficient to give strength and stability to a political party, especially to an administration having such formidable opponents. Of his colleagues in office, lord Egremont, by his abilities, experience, and reputation, possessed the greatest weight. Of this statesman's assistance, he, on the 21st of August, was deprived by death; and the cabinet was now reckoned extremely feeble and inefficient.

Overtures to Mr. Pitt.

THE object of the king uniformly was, to employ political ability and virtue in the government of the nation, without regard to party. The first statesman of the kingdom had withdrawn from the cabinet; and to recal his most efficacious talents into the executive service of his country, was the benignant wish of our sovereign. He accordingly made application to Mr. Pitt, and an interview took place on the 27th of August. The patriot being consulted respecting measures and men, delivered his opinion freely and explicitly; that in the circumstances and

opinions

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opinions of the times, it would be expedient for the insurance of public confidence, to restore the great whig families to a certain share of that power from which they had been recently driven, and their deprivation of which had caused such alarms in the country. The king did not object to those general propositions, and appointed Mr. Pitt to a second interview on the 29th, to enter into particular arrangements. On the intervening day, Mr. Pitt conferred with the chief whig leaders, and his own political friends, concerning the persons who should constitute the new cabinet, and a plan was formed. The day following, he met the king at the appointed hour, and laid before him the names of his proposed co-adjutors. His majesty, desirous of the services of Mr. Pitt individually, was willing to admit in conjunction with him certain members of the whig party, but, true to the policy with which he had set out, would not surrender the whole direction of his affairs to a combination: he therefore proposed a plan which should, together with Mr. Pitt and some of those whom he recommended, extend to others. Mr. Pitt appears to have adhered to his first opinion, and the king to have persevered in his determination not to yield to so exclusive a system of administration. The conference broke off[a], and Mr. Pitt and his friends did not become a part of the ministry. Having failed in the attempt to procure the ministerial services of Mr. Pitt on admissible terms, his majesty bestowed a considerable share of power on the duke of Bedford and his partisans, making the duke himself president of the council. The accession of the numerous connexions of the Bedford family gave Mr. Grenville an assurance of a parliamentary majority, which enabled ministers to carry their projects into execution.

[a] Various reports were disseminated concerning this negociation. The documents on which it chiefly rests, is the letter of Lord Hardwicke to his son Lord Royston, afterwards published.

THE

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1763. Meeting of parliament.

THE session opened in November. His majesty having in his speech exhorted parliament to cultivate the blessings of peace, to improve the acquisitions which they had made, to extend the commerce, increase the revenue, and reduce the debt of the country; in the close, he strongly inculcated the necessity of domestic union and the repression of licentiousness. Before the speech could be taken into consideration, the minister delivered a message from the king to the following effect: "That his majesty having been informed that John Wilkes esq. a member of that house, was the author of a most seditious and dangerous libel, he had caused the said John Wilkes esq. to be apprehended and secured, in order to take his trial in due course of law: and Mr. Wilkes having been discharged out of custody by the court of common pleas, on account of his privilege as a member of that house, and having since refused to answer to an information filed against him by the attorney-general, his majesty, desirous to shew all possible attention to the privileges of the house of commons, and at the same time solicitous not to suffer the public justice of the kingdom to be eluded, had chosen to direct the said libel, and also copies of the examinations upon which Mr. Wilkes was apprehended and secured, to be laid before them."

THE ground which administration took in supporting the proceedings relating to Mr. Wilkes was, a proposition to censure a work as false, scandalous, and seditious, the merits of which were actually before a court of justice; and that very day Mr. Grenville proposed the following resolution: "That the paper entitled the North Briton, N° 45. is a false, scandalous, and seditious libel against his majesty and both houses of parliament, manifestly tending to alienate the affections of the people from his majesty, to withdraw them from their obedience to the laws, and to excite them to traiterous insurrection."

In

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In supporting this motion, the friends of ministers expatiated on the nature and mischievous tendency of seditious libels, demonstrated the calumnious falsehoods of the work in question, contended that they were fitted to estrange the affections of the people from the king and legislature, and that therefore the author deserved the strongest marks of censure that could be passed by the house. Opposition, endeavouring to extenuate the offence of Mr. Wilkes, contended, that he had been already treated with such illegality and harshness as amounted to persecution; that the decisions of the court had already shewn his treatment to have been oppressive; and that his offence, whatever might be its nature or heinousness, was now before the judicature of his country, whose judgment it did not become a branch of the legislature either to anticipate or to influence by interference.

Proceedings against Wilkes.

THE resolution was carried by a great majority; and immediately after it was resolved, that N° 45. of the North Briton should be burned by the hands of the common hangman; and the lords, in a conference, agreed to the resolution, and to the sentence. On the 26th of November both houses joined in an address, expressing their indignation at the contumely with which his majesty was treated in the libel, and at the outrage which had been offered to every branch of the legislature. The next question relative to Mr. Wilkes was, the extent of parliamentary privilege. Ministry moved, that *the privilege of parliament does not extend to seditious libels.* Opposition argued, that many authorities in law, particularly the late decision in the court of common pleas, established the extension of parliamentary privilege to every case, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace. Mr. Pitt declared his abhorrence of the paper in question to be as great as any man's, "but (said he) let the author be punished in due course of law, according to the amount

amount of his guilt. Do not let us sacrifice the privileges of parliament, and subject every man to the danger of imprisonment who may happen to write against ministry. A member of parliament possesses the privilege claimed by Mr. Wilkes, and admitted by the court of common pleas; but if an offender wished to shelter himself under his privileges, the house, from its regard to justice, would deliver him up to prosecution." The friends of ministry, in reply to the argument, from legal authorities endeavoured to prove, that a libel was a much more hurtful offence than what are usually called breaches of the peace, and even than several species of felony. The privilege of parliament was intended merely to prevent a member from being distracted in his attention to national business, by litigations concerning his private property, but not to prove a protection for crimes. The resolution, after undergoing a very violent contest, was passed, and carried also in the house of lords. During these proceedings, a personal altercation between Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Martin, member for Camelford, produced a duel, in which Mr. Wilkes was wounded; and the house delayed farther proceedings until he should be able to attend.

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In the Christmas vacation he retired into France. 1764
On the 19th of January 1764, the last adjourned day for farther proceedings against him, the house received certificates from French surgeons, that, from his wound, he was unable to return to England; but, conceiving this excuse to be an unfounded pretence[a], they proceeded with his case. On the 29th of January it was proposed, "That John Wilkes esq. member for Aylesbury, being guilty of writing and publishing the North Briton, be expelled this house." In this debate, opposition was

[a] He had gone to Paris after his wound; and his return thence, it was apprehended, could not be more impracticable than his journey thither.

very

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very moderate; the evidence was so unquestionable, that the most patriotic members could not conscientiously support the cause of Wilkes. Disapprobation of the proceedings of ministry as illegal and violent, was not incompatible with a thorough conviction of the wickedness of the paper in question, and the unfitness of the author to hold a place in the house of commons; the question was therefore carried in the affirmative, and Mr. Wilkes was expelled the house.

He is expelled the house.

THE same day that he was deprived of his seat in the assembly of the commons, he underwent an accusation from the peers. He had written [f], and privately dispersed, a book entitled, An Essay on Woman, being a burlesque on Pope's Essay on Man, and consisting of obscene and blasphemous ribaldry. To this production he had subjoined notes, stated in the title-page to be written by bishop Warburton, so eminent for learning and virtue. The man who first declared his abhorrence of such an offence against decency and piety, was the *earl of Sandwich*. His lordship had recently been extremely intimate with Mr. Wilkes, and had at the very time thoroughly established a character, of which holiness and virtue were not constituents; but he was extremely active in procuring evidence to fix this publication upon Mr. Wilkes, in order to bring to condign punishment the violator of morality and religion.[g] His own habits of intercourse[h], and sources of information, peculiarly fitting his lordship for bringing such flagitiousness to light, he procured a copy of the work, and complained of it in the

[f] I am aware that the Essay on Woman has been ascribed to a different author; but the proof then adduced affixed it on Mr. Wilkes.

[g] The earl of Chesterfield, in a letter to his son, appears to think equal credit due to the patriotic commoner, and to the holy peer. "Happy (says he) is it for this nation, that God hath been pleased to raise up in Mr. Wilkes a patriotic defender of our rights and liberties, and in the earl of Sandwich so zealous a defender of our religion and mor[illegible]!"

[h] The popular writings of the times on this occasion, applied to the peer a fictitious character, taken from a very celebrated performance.

house of peers, as a flagrant outrage against the most sacred duties both to God and man. The peers, on the slightest inspection, saw that it was an infamous performance; and, in the attack upon the venerable, excellent, and illustrious prelate, an evident breach of the privileges of the lords; they therefore addressed his majesty to give directions for prosecuting the author. He was accordingly indicted for blasphemy, while the proceedings respecting the libel were pending; and, on the 21st of February, tried before lord Mansfield, for republishing the North Briton with notes; and on the same day for printing and publishing the Essay on Woman. Not returning to receive sentence, he was outlawed; the suits carried on against the two secretaries of course abated; and Wilkes himself might have been forgotten, if another ministry had not rekindled the popular flame.

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Retires into exile.

THE votaries of a favourite hypothesis endeavoured to make every fact and case bend to their theory. The people still considered Bute as the real director of affairs, and imputed to his arbitrary principles the acts of the Grenville administration, which they represented as unconstitutional and tyrannical. If considered impartially, the arrest by general warrant is found to be a mere adoption, by this ministry, of the mode followed by all ministries since the revolution. From such a procedure, therefore, no inference can be justly drawn that their intentions were tyrannical; but their conduct was certainly irregular, and was also very unnecessary. If, as a member of parliament, Mr. Wilkes was subject to any warrant for a libel, he was amenable to a special as well as a general warrant. To have arrested him in the legal way, would have been as easy and expeditious as in the illegal. Mr. Wilkes's conduct in itself was a gross violation of law, but to its cognizance the courts of law were fully competent. While it was before these tribunals,

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bunals, it did not appear consistent with either the justice of the minister to propose, or of parliament to adopt, measures that might tend to a prejudication of the case. Conviction must have ensued on such criminality, established by indubitable proofs; and the house might have then proceeded with much greater propriety to censure or punish the author. The impartial historian, though he find in the prosecutors of Wilkes no designs or intentions hostile to constitutional liberty, must perceive, that a considerable part of their conduct was totally inconsistent with prudence, with the stability of their own power, and with the tranquillity of government. Wilkes had before been little known, except for his profligacy; the ministers raised him to eminence; discontent was before very great, and the proceedings against him made it spread with accelerated rapidity. Though not justly deemed tyrannical, the prosecution of Wilkes by the Grenville administration, was unwise at the time, and injurious in its consequences.

Question concerning general warrants.

THOUGH Mr. Wilkes was himself retired from the political stage, questions resulting from his case continued to occupy parliament, and to agitate the public mind. Members of opposition now proposed the question of general warrants in an abstract form, merely as a point of constitutional law, without seeming to involve in it any particular case. On the 14th of February, sir William Meredith moved a resolution, stating, "that a general warrant for apprehending and seizing the authors, printers, and publishers of a seditious libel, together with their papers, is not warranted by law." Ministry conducted themselves with great dexterity concerning this question; for they kept aloof from the position itself, and did not support the legality of such warrants. "The house of commons," they said, "being only a part, and not the whole of the legislature, cannot declare law legislatively; and not being a court

court of judicature, cannot declare it judicially: the assumption of such a power would introduce confusion into the courts of law. The judges considered themselves as to be guided only by the whole legislature. If the commons were to declare the law, their declarations might be different from what the king and parliament had pronounced. In the present case it would produce not only general confusion, but particular injustice. There was a bill of exemptions depending before the ordinary judges, on the alleged illegality of general warrants; and the proposed resolution would in a great degree prejudge the cause. It would condemn men who acted upon the most numerous precedents, and of the best times; men whose known characters, and the tenor of whose conduct, had secured them from every suspicion of an ill intention to liberty. Though the words of the resolution extended only to the case of libel, yet the spirit of it would apply to all cases whatsoever. Such warrants had often been productive of the greatest good, and had nipped in the bud the most dangerous conspiracies. If general warrants are illegal, await the determination of the courts; if the decisions of the courts are not satisfactory, declare the law by act of parliament."

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Arguments for them;

THE supporters of the motion argued on the illegality and oppressive tendency of the process by a general warrant. Such a mode left a discretionary power over the liberty of the subject; not only to magistrates, whose knowledge, wisdom, and value of their reputation, might moderate the exertion of their arbitrary authority; but to the inferior officers of justice, often the most ignorant and profligate of mankind. The argument from precedent could not justify what was contrary to law. Cases, it was admitted, might occur, in which necessity would justify general warrants; as in time of war and public danger, when issued against the persons and interests of the enemy, they might be requisite

against them.

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for the preservation of the country. Mr. Pitt, in a speech on the subject, acknowledged that he had signed two of them himself, though aware of their illegality, because he would risk his head for the public safety; but in the case of a libel there was no such necessity; every purpose of public justice might be fully obtained by the regular process of law. The house of commons neither pretended to be the whole of the legislative body, nor a court of judicature; but it was their undoubted right, confirmed by clear and unequivocal precedent, to censure every illegal practice, not thereby declaring law, but admonishing courts of justice and executive officers to keep within the limits of law as already established.

MINISTERS proposed an amendment, stating the constant and uncensured practice of officers. They moved that the question, so amended, should be adjourned to that day four months; that is, should be actually dismissed; and a motion to that effect was carried by two hundred and thirty-four against two hundred and twenty.[1]

Mr. Grenville;

WE have hitherto been considering acts of administration which appear to have resulted from their united counsels; we now come to measures, in which the lead was taken by Mr. Grenville himself, belonging peculiarly to his department, and deriving their nature and tendency from his character. Mr. Grenville was a man of a clear and sound understanding, of great parliamentary experience, indefatigable application, and extensive knowledge, especially in the laws of his country, in commerce, and in finance. He had adopted an opinion, that

[1] Among those who voted with opposition on the present occasion was general Conway, who was presently after dismissed from the command of a regiment, and other military as well as civil employments. This act was severely censured in the opposition writings of the time, and even by not a few connected with no party. This dismissal is the subject of several letters by Horace Walpole, who also wrote a pamphlet upon the subject, intitled, "An address to the public on the late dismissal of a general officer;" which is published in his Works.

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his financial schemes.

the resources of the country were in a very exhausted state; that therefore the chief business of a prime minister was to find out in what way the deficiencies might be supplied. His great object was, the improvement of the revenue without additional burthens on the country. With this view one part of his policy was to restrain smuggling of every kind, that the established imports might be as productive as possible: in the execution of his schemes he was very active and successful; and farther, to promote his purpose, he had recourse to the aid of the officers of the navy. A number of small ships of war, with cutters and tenders, were stationed on the coasts of Britain and Ireland, and similar powers conferred on them with those usually given to revenue officers. Those regulations were a powerful restraint on contraband trade, and added greatly to the productivenes of the revenue. Having thus enlarged the products, he diminished expence by rigid economy. He inquired into abuses which wasted the public money, and by correcting them made great savings; in his bargains for the public with monied men, he procured very advantageous terms, and was a most frugal, faithful, and skilful steward to his country.

By these means he was able in 1764, only one year after the termination of so expensive a war, to come forward with a scheme of finance which precluded the necessity of additional taxes. One part of the debt was 1,800,000*l.* in exchequer bills, which were at a great discount. The bank contract was to be renewed; Mr. Grenville stipulated, that the bank should take 1,000,000*l.* of these bills for two years, at an interest reduced by one fourth; and, at the same time, should pay a fine on the renewal of the contract of 100,000*l.* The residue of the bills were renewed; and another floating debt of 2,000,000*l.* still remained; to its liquidation, the surplus of the sinking fund was applied, and also 700,000*l.* the produce of French prizes taken

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before the declaration of war. The savings of unnecessary expences, the increased productivenes of the revenue by the prevention of smuggling, added to the funds before established, precluded the necessity, not only of a new loan and taxes, but even of a lottery.

THE state of supply was laid before the commons on the 20th of March, and the friends of ministry justly gave it credit as a display of combined skill and economy in the administration of the revenue, and exulted in the effects which it produced; nor were their praises controverted by opposition in parliament. The plan was, however, strongly attacked in antiministerial publications, in which it was attempted to be proved, that the statements were fallacious, and the alleged savings frivolous; but the objections were chiefly founded upon hypotheses, while the arguments in favour of the minister were supported by authentic documents; and, indeed, an impartial reviewer of this part of Mr. Grenville's ministry, must allow him the praise due to a prudent and well-informed financier.

Regulations for preventing smuggling.

To promote his favourite object, of increasing the productiveness of revenue, Mr. Grenville extended the collecting powers of naval officers to America and the West Indies. There was a clandestine trade carried on between the English and Spanish colonies, to the great advantage of both, especially the former, and even of Great Britain herself: because through this channel British manufactures were introduced into the Spanish settlements, and the returns were made principally in gold and[k] silver. Though this traffic was not contrary to the spirit of any act of parliament, yet the officers of the navy appointed to prevent smuggling, not having received definite instructions from home, put a stop to the intercourse, however beneficial: they seized indiscriminately all the ships employed in this commerce, whether belonging to fellow subjects or to foreigners.

[k] See Stedman's History of the American war, vol. i. p. 14.

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The North Americans, who had found this trade extremely lucrative, murmured loudly at the fatal check which it thus received; and Mr. Grenville's laudable desire of increasing the revenue, being pursued too exclusively, produced measures which, though not very important in their financial operations, were followed by political consequences of the highest moment. He formed a plan to oblige the inhabitants of the American colonies to bear a share in the expence necessary for their protection, by paying taxes to be imposed by the British parliament. A distinction had obtained in these provinces, between duties on the importation and exportation of merchandize and TAXES. Customs had been imposed upon certain enumerated goods, if carried to some other place instead of Great Britain; and when specific articles, the produce of one colony, were to be exported to another, they paid a [1] duty. To these imports, considering them merely as *regulations of trade*, and not as TAXES, the colonies had submitted. Mr. Grenville therefore proposed a deviation from the established practice, and the assertion of a claim, which involved in it very important questions, respecting not only general liberty, but also the constitutional freedom of a British subject. Intended by him merely as a scheme of finance upon old and established grounds, his project proposed a political change founded upon new principles, of which experience had afforded no means of ascertaining the operation and effects. It was a much more important and more complicated proposition than its author apprehended; and a plan for making an inconsiderable addition to British revenue, eventually laid the foundation of one of the greatest and most momentous revolutions which history has to record.

Projects respecting America.

[1] Rum, sugar, and molasses, for instance, imported from the West Indies to North America, paid a duty before they were shipped; as did also tobacco and indigo, imported from the North American continent to any of the other plantations.

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1764. Innovating system of taxation in the colonies.

As a part of this innovating system, Mr. Grenville moved in parliament a bill for granting certain duties on goods in the British colonies, to support the government there, and encourage the trade to the sugar plantations; and, on the 6th of April, this proposition was passed into a law. He also proposed another to the following purport: "that, towards further defraying the expence of protecting and securing the colonies, it may be proper to charge certain *stamp duties* in the colonies." He postponed, however, during this session, the introduction of a bill founded on the last resolution, that the Americans might have time to offer a compensation for the revenue which such a tax might produce. The colonial assemblies during the war had been in the practice of issuing bills, which were made a legal tender for money: these had begun to be attended with great inconvenience, and to suffer very considerable depreciation. To remedy the evils, a law was proposed by Mr. Grenville, and passed by parliament, for preventing such bills as might be hereafter issued in any of his majesty's colonies or plantations in America, from being made legal tenders in payment of money. The restrictions on the clandestine trade had given great umbrage in North America; the law obstructing their paper currency added to the dissatisfaction; but the duties actually imposed upon merchandize, and the resolutions concerning the stamp duty, excited a loud clamour. The new Englanders were the first to investigate these measures. Conceiving the new laws to be part of a general plan for assuming a power not heretofore exercised by Britain over her American colonies, they immediately controverted the fundamental principle, and totally denied the right of a British parliament to levy in any form duties or taxes upon the colonies. The exercise (they said) of such an authority was a violation of their rights as freemen; as colonists,

possessing by their charters the power of taxing themselves for their own support and defence; and as British subjects, who ought not to be taxed but by themselves or their representatives. These topics were the subjects of petitions sent over to the king, to the lords, and to the commons. CHAP. IV. 1764.

The New Englanders.

PLACED in a rigorous climate, and on a soil requiring active and persevering industry to render it productive, the New Englanders were strong, hardy, and capable of undergoing great labour and fatigue. Having many difficulties to overcome and dangers to encounter, they were formed to penetration, enterprise, and resolution. Their country, less bountiful than those of their southern neighbours, rendered recourse to traffic necessary. The puritanism which they inherited from their [m] forefathers, with its concomitant hypocrisy, incorporated itself with their commercial conduct; and avarice is never keener than after a coalition with fanatical austerity, and never with more ardour uses the ministry of fraud, than when arrayed in the garb of sanctity. The traffic of New England, of a minute and detailed kind, less resembling the pursuit of an enlightened merchant than a petty shopkeeper, while it narrowed liberality, sharpened artifice. Inheriting a tinge of democratical republicanism, the people submitted with reluctance to the constitutional authority of a government in which monarchy made a considerable part, and spurned at the idea of yielding to what they conceived to be usurpation. Avarice being a prominent feature in their characters, they were peculiarly jealous of an apprehended usurpation, which was calculated to affect their purposes. As their sentiments and principles prompted them to oppose such attempts, their intelligent and bold character enabled them effectually to resist them. In the middle colonies, in which the temperature of the

Middle

[m] See the Introduction, p. 80.

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climate and fertility of the soil easily afforded the necessaries and accommodations of life, though active and industrious, the inhabitants were not equally hardy and enterprising; they were less austere in their manners, admitted luxury and refinement to a much greater degree than the colonists of the north, and were attached to a monarchical form of government. The southern colonies were dissipated, relaxed, and indolent; and therefore, though little adapted to resistance themselves, were well-fitted to receive impressions from more vigorous characters. The New Englanders were extremely active in diffusing their own sentiments through the provinces attached to the mother-country; till, at length, the spirit of dissatisfaction became so prevalent, as to attract the notice and animadversions of the British government.

and southern colonies.

War with the Indians,

WHILE subjects so interesting and important were agitating the civilized parts of British America, government was disturbed by a desultory warfare with the Indian savages. British settlers had impolitically neglected the means of gaining the affections and confidence of the natives. Seeing England so completely established, the Indians regretted that they had not been more active in supporting the French interest. The cordon of forts along the lakes trenched upon their hunting grounds, almost the sole resource of savage life; and they became apprehensive that British colonies would be planted in those woods from which they now derived their subsistence. In the midst of these apprehensions, a report was spread, that the American provinces had formed a scheme for extirpating the Indian tribes; though totally unfounded, this rumour was believed by the natives, and had no small share in inciting them to hostilities. A confederacy was formed, and a sudden attack made, during the harvest, on all our frontier settlements. Before the design was suspected, numbers of planters were

were surprised, and put to death, with every torture that savage ingenuity could devise; their effects were plundered, their houses burned, and their crops destroyed. The itinerant merchants, who, relying on the general peace, traded in the Indian country, were murdered, and their effects, valued at two hundred thousand pounds, plundered. The western frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, were totally abandoned by the planters; the savages had surprised three of our forts, and were advancing fast to our principal garrison, Fort Pitt. Informed of this alarming irruption, general Amherst sent a strong detachment against the Indians, under captain Dalzell. The savages, however, being apprised of his intentions, attacked the king's troops on every side, and Dalzell with great difficulty made his retreat to Fort Detroit. A numerous body of Indians now surrounded Fort Pitt, at which reinforcements were not yet arrived; the general sent to its relief a strong corps under colonel Bouquet. Informed of the march of this detachment, the Indians raised the siege, with a view to attack the English; and encountering Bouquet's troops, after a sharp contest, pretended to retreat, and drew their adversaries into a most dangerous ambuscade: the British, however, formed themselves into strong columns, and preserving the strictest order, encountered tomahawks with fixed bayonets; and disciplined valour prevailing over savage impetuosity, they repulsed the enemy. The Indians had again recourse to ambuscade, to which their country is so peculiarly favourable. Our commander wished to bring them to a close engagement; but the enemy with skilful dexterity eluded battle. In his attempts to effect his purpose, Bouquet was drawn into a defile, in which he was extremely distressed for want of water, and saw that, if he were not able to bring the Indians to regular action, his troops must moulder away for want of provisions.

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The enemy had increased in confidence from their late success; and the colonel perceiving this boldness, contrived the following stratagem for drawing them into battle. The British troops were posted on an eminence, while two companies were stationed in more advanced situations. These he ordered to fall within the circle as if retreating, while the other two were drawn up so as to appear to cover that retreat. The first two companies moved behind a projecting part of the hill so as not to be perceived by the enemy. The savages, leaving their woods, attacked the two companies that were nearest them; but while they pressed forward, believing themselves sure of victory, the two that had made the feigned retreat rushed on, and attacked them in the flank, while the others charged them in front. The savages were defeated and routed; and the British troops arriving at Fort Pitt, secured that important post. The savages now made an attack upon Niagara, and carried four hundred men in canoes across Lake Erie; but these were defeated by an English schooner.

concluded.

General Amherst, aware that, though the disciplined force of Britain must ultimately triumph over savage ferocity, the inroads of the Indians was a great interruption to colonial prosperity, made such proposals as, by the great influence of sir William Johnson, were accepted by the principal tribes; and the rest, sensible that they were no longer able to contend with the British, also sought and obtained peace.

At home, little happened of sufficient importance to be a subject of history, except the proceedings regarding Mr. Wilkes, already mentioned. The cyder tax, however, occasoned a number of meetings and resolutions, and some riots. The crop had been very deficient, and the dearness of provisions caused great discontent; which was increased by the representations of demagogues, imputing the scarcity

scarcity in a considerable degree to the influx of Scotchmen[n], whom it was asserted, lord Bute had brought hither to eat the fruits of England. The dissatisfaction in many places rose to tumult. The scarcity also contributed to a different evil, the prevalence of robberies to a very alarming degree: this mischief was farther increased by the discharge of numbers of soldiers and sailors at the peace, who had not since that time got into a regular employment: indeed, at no time were felonies more pregnant, daring, and atrocious.

Abuses in mad-houses.

DURING this year the legislature was informed, that very shameful practices prevailed in private madhouses. Committees of both houses inquired into the subject, and found that these pretended receptacles for lunatics were very frequently converted into prisons for the confinement, by the authority of private individuals, of persons who had done nothing offensive to the laws of their country; wives, who interrupted the debaucheries of their husbands; parents, who chose to manage their own affairs, without implicitly submitting to their children; children, sisters, and wards, who did not implicitly yield to parents, brothers, and guardians; in short, whoever opposed the will of relations assuming despotic power. Individuals, invested with no authority by the law of the land, arrogated to themselves a power not granted by our laws to any part of the executive government. They committed fellow-subjects to gaol without an examination; they suspended by their sole will and authority the habeas corpus act; and in effect established bastilles in Britain. It was found, that the keepers acknowledged this absolute power of individuals; and,

[n] The poet Churchill was peculiarly zealous and successful in impressing these ideas on those credulous readers who would receive the colourings of fancy for authentic truth. His writings were highly prized by critics who had not sufficient discrimination to perceive the difference between the acrimony of malignant invective and the strength of well-founded satire; who, to use the language of Johnson concerning another inciter of disaffection, "mistook the venom of the shaft for the vigour of the bow."

without

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without any inquiry, received whomsoever their lettres de cachet chose to send to confinement. They admitted and detained persons in their perfect senses, requiring nothing farther than to be paid for their maintenance. The legislature, having investigated this evil and discovered its extent, made regulations to prevent its continuance or renewal.

DURING this year, two events took place, which were important to the royal family, and consequently to the country. The hereditary prince of Brunswic, who had so eminently distinguished himself in the war, was in January married to the princess Augusta, eldest sister of the king. The bishopric of Osnaburg, which was alternately in the gift of the houses of Hanover and Saxony, becoming vacant, and it being king George's turn, as elector of Hanover, to present, was bestowed upon the infant prince Frederic, second son to their majesties.

BEFORE we revert to the internal and colonial contests which agitated the first portion of the present reign, it seems proper to take a short review of the state of Europe, especially of those parts of it whose acts must always be important to Great Britain.

State of Europe.

THE alliance between France and Austria had been so far from answering its purpose, that its consequences had left both the contracting parties in an exhausted and depressed state. The family compact between France and Spain, which was intended to exalt, had humbled both kingdoms. In France, internal dissatisfaction interrupted the measures of government for repairing the losses sus-

France.

tained by the war. The immense expenditure of France, both for herself and her allies, had involved her in the greatest pecuniary difficulties, and obliged government to levy very heavy taxes. The parliament of Paris objected to some of the new financial decrees; and force being employed to reduce them to compliance, they resigned their offices. Various repre-

representations were made to the king, to justify their conduct. The duke of Fitz-james, governor of Languedoc, imprisoned some refractory members of the parliament of Thoulouse. As a customary mode of procedure with the executorial officers of the king of France, this act might indeed raise indignation, but could not excite surprise; the proceedings of the parliament, however, in these circumstances were unusual, and manifested a deviation from the spirit by which that country had been actuated ever since the establishment of the house of Bourbon. The parliament of Thoulouse impeached the duke, gave orders for the arrest of his person and the sequestration of his estates, and referred the cause to the cognizance of the parliament of Paris, as the supreme court of judicature. That body, accepting the appeal, ordered their president to request the king's presence in the examination. The king replied, that, as the duke of Fitz-james represented his person, he would himself take cognizance of the cause. To this intimation the parliament returned a very strong remonstrance. The death of Fitz-james prevented the dispute coming to issue, but the spirit of resentment which had manifested itself did not evaporate.

Rising spirit of freedom.

Austria.

Austria had concluded a peace with the king of Prussia a few months after the treaty of Fontainbleau; she had for ever renounced her claim to Silesia, and by her stipulations acknowledged herself to have totally failed in the purposes for which she had undertaken the war. By her ambitious projects she had, during the contest, incurred a debt amounting to twenty-five millions sterling; which was to her an enormous sum. The counsels of her able minister, Kaunitz, were necessarily occupied in devising means for the diminution of this burden. One important object she obtained by the treaty of Hubertsburg, in the express consent of the king of Prussia to the arch-duke Joseph, eldest son and heir of the emperor

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emperor and empress-queen, being chosen king of the Romans, and the election took place in April 1764.

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Prussia.

THE king of Prussia, though he had overcome all his enemies, and dictated the terms of peace, equally able in every department, had been so provident, that AT THE END OF THE WAR HE HAD NOT CONTRACTED A SHILLING OF DEBT, and had even one year's revenue in his treasury.* Frederic though now at peace, did not relax; he employed himself in cultivating the advantages of tranquillity, reviving industry, encouraging agriculture and commerce, improving his revenue, and rendering his country flourishing.

Russia.

RUSSIA, though advancing more slowly towards civilization than the ardent genius of czar Peter had conceived, was rapidly increasing in the solid constituents of power. Her military force, arising from such extensive resources, was extremely strong. In hostilities she had commonly been subsidised as an auxiliary, instead of contributing as a principal; hence the wars in which she had been engaged exercised her soldiers without exhausting her finances. Her commerce was extending on every side; not only from her pursuing the schemes of Peter, but from the policy of other countries. During the present century, more than at any preceding period, the nations of Europe had sought maritime strength. Russia was the grand magazine of naval stores: these exports increased her wealth; intercourse with the traders enlarged her commercial ideas, and more strongly impressed on her the importance of maritime force. Her marine was rapidly advancing; and from her various resources she had the greatest influence with nations with which she was nearly connected. Such was the state of Russia when the sceptre fell into the hands of a princess thoroughly qualified by understanding

* See Gillies's Frederic, p. 364.

and

1764. Catharine.

and temper to cultivate the productiveness of the country, improve and multiply its resources, and call them forth to beneficial action. The empress Catharine, in the beginning of her reign, appeared so much occupied with her own dominions, as to attend little to foreign transactions; and merely to wish to be on terms of peace and amity with her neighbours, without interfering in any of their contests or concerns. She had made a defensive alliance with the king of Prussia, without embroiling herself with Austria; she was on amicable terms with Sweden and Denmark; she had kept totally aloof from the disputes of the maritime powers, and professed the highest regard for all the belligerent parties, and the greatest satisfaction when their wars were at an end. But at length an event took place, which shewed that her ambitious character was destined to display itself in other countries as well as Russia. On the 5th of October 1763, Augustus, elector of Saxony and king of Poland, died; and his son, the young elector, offered himself as candidate for the throne. The king of Prussia, very anxious to prevent the crown of Poland from becoming hereditary in the house of Saxony, opposed the choice of its present head. The Russian empress joined Frederic in his opposition to the house of Saxony, and recommended count Poniatowsky, a Pole by birth, representative of a powerful and illustrious family, and himself a man of great virtues and accomplishments; and in order to strengthen his interests, she sent a powerful army into Poland. Austria, France, and Spain, connected with the house of Saxony, wished success to the elector, but had neither the disposition nor power to employ force in his favour. Branitzky and Radzivil, two Polish chieftains of great power and authority, endeavoured to oppose Poniatowsky, but were defeated, and driven out of Poland; and Poniatowsky

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Poniatowsky was, on the 7th of September 1764, elected, by the title of Stanislaus II. king of Poland.

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In southern Europe, a war had subsisted for upwards of twenty years between the republic of Genoa and the inhabitants of Corsica. The islanders had been at first headed by a German adventurer, whom, trusting to his air-built promises of interesting the great powers in their favour, they chose king, by the title of Theodore king of Corsica. Finding him, however, not to possess the power and influence to which he had pretended, they compelled him to abdicate the throne and retire into banishment. The Corsicans, after this event, chose a native chieftain, named Giacinto Paoli, general of their armies, and president of their councils; and under this commander they were superior to the Genoese troops. After a contest of many years, the senate of Genoa applied to the most christian king for assistance; and in August 1764, a convention was signed between the French and Genoese, by which the king of France guaranteed the island to Genoa, and promised to send a naval and military force to assist in its reduction. The Corsicans applied to the courts of Vienna and London, to mediate for them with the French monarch; but nothing was done in their behalf, and the French troops took possession of the principal fortresses of Corsica.

1765. Meeting of parliament. General warrants.

The British parliament met on the 10th of January 1765. The question of general warrants was early in the season brought again before the house, in a new form: and on the 29th, underwent a very able discussion, in which many ingenious arguments were brought forward on both sides, new rather in detail and illustration than in principle. The speakers of opposition shewed the evils which might arise from general warrants in a greater multiplicity of lights than before, and administration enlarged much more than formerly on the impropriety

priety of the interposition of the house of commons in declaring the law of the land: but the real grounds of argument on both sides were and must have been the same, as the subject had been so completely debated in the preceding year. After a very warm contest, it was dismissed by the previous question.

Plan of taxing America.

THE deliberations of parliament were now turned towards America. Both the justice and expediency of taxation underwent a discussion, on much more comprehensive principles than in the former year, when the probable efficiency of the tax appeared to be the sole consideration. The petitions and manifestoes from the American colonies, denying the right of the British parliament to tax them, being read, the minister submitted the question to the house. A more important subject of discussion had rarely been presented to the British parliament. It was a question, the extent and consequences of which its proposer had by no means digested; it involved the general objects of colonization, the means by which those were to be effected, and the particular constitution, state, and sentiments of the British colonies. In considering this subject, many, by arguing from the practice of parent-countries and their plantations in ancient times, were led to very faulty conclusions respecting the question between Britain and her colonies. The motives for colonization have been extremely different in different ages, countries, and circumstances; and from that dissimilitude arose a proportionate diversity of relation and reciprocal interest between the mother-country and the plantations. Small states with confined territories and an increasing population, were frequently obliged to send the surplus of their inhabitants in quest of new settlements. This was the cause of colonial establishments from Phenicia, and from Greece; whose plantations in Asia, Africa, Italy, and elsewhere, were from their nature not

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dependent on the parent-country. They often, indeed, retained a close intercourse with each other, from identity of extraction and language, and similarity of manners and government; but the parent-country was far from claiming any authority over its emigrated descendants. This kind of colony resembled the children of a family setting out to seek their fortunes abroad, because they had no means of subsistence at home; settling themselves in a foreign country, subsisted and protected by their own efforts; consequently no longer under the command of the parents, whatever their affection might be for them and their brethren. The colonies of the Romans were planted from other causes, and were, in consequence, on a very different footing. The state, increasing at home in population, and abroad in territories, found conquered countries drained of inhabitants by long wars, but abounding in cultivated land. They therefore sent settlers from Rome[p] to occupy the lands, which might otherwise have been in a great measure waste from the reduced population. Here the mother-country offered comfortable subsistence to her offspring for their industry, and protection for their allegiance. The Roman colonists were not adventurers sent to seek their fortunes with the "world all before them," but children settled by parents in farms entirely dependent on themselves; and these plantations were and must have been, part of the Roman dominions. Advocates for the taxation of the British colonies, in writings and speeches, quoted the subjection of the Roman plantations; advocates against that system quoted the independence of the Grecian emigrations; although, in reality, neither example would apply. Modern colonies have neither, like those from Greece, been establishments originating in necessary separation, and therefore in their nature independent; nor, like those of the

[p] Smith on Colonies, Wealth of Nation, vol. ii. p. 346.

Romans,

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Principles and system of British colonization.

Romans, springing from specific donative within the jurisdiction of the donor, and therefore in their nature dependent. They have been settlements formed for the purposes of immediate or eventual gain; and they proposed the accession of resources to the parent-country. The great and leading inquiry was, how are these colonies to be rendered most beneficial to a state so circumstanced as their parent-country? The plans of different European nations in the government of their colonies, varied according to the general policy of the parent-country, the circumstances of the settlements, and the character of particular administrations. The constitution of the American colonies was similar to the polity of Britain, in established provisions for the security of property, liberty, and life; they therefore possessed the right of taxing themselves by their representatives. This was a privilege which the Americans thought inherent in them as British subjects, and confirmed by charters admitted by the mother-country; its practical enjoyment constituted a great part of their comfort and happiness; and teaching them to value themselves and their respective colonies, inspirited those exertions which rendered them so beneficial to the British empire. The actual benefits that accrued to England from her colonies, consisted in the increase of people, as the means of security and productiveness were augmented; and in the vast and rapidly growing accession to our trade[q], to supply the wants of the

[q] This was Sir Robert Walpole's view of the subject, declared when, as we have already observed, he was expressing his objections to taxing America. As his opinion was much quoted during the discussion before us, it may not be foreign to our purpose to repeat it in his own words: "I will leave the taxation of America," said he, "for some of my successors, who may have more courage than I have, and be less a friend to commerce than I am. It has been a maxim with me, during my administration, to encourage the trade of the American colonies in the utmost latitude; nay, it has been necessary to pass over some irregularities in their trade with Europe; for, by encouraging them to an extensive growing foreign commerce, if they gain 500,000*l.* I am convinced, that in two years afterwards, full 250,000*l.* of their gain will be in his majesty's exchequer, by the labour and product of this kingdom; as immense quantities of every kind of our manufactures go thither; and as they increase in their foreign American trade, more of our produce will be wanted. This is taking them more agreeably to their own constitution and to ours."

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multiplying colonies. Commercial benefits were the objects of the plantations; the question, therefore, to be considered simply was, how are these advantages to be most effectually promoted, insured, and improved? It was a mere question of EXPEDIENCY, requiring no metaphysical disquisitions about abstract right. Experience shewed that our gains had been very considerable, and acquired without murmur or dispute, by the old plan, of profiting from their commerce, and demands for our productions: wisdom had now to determine, whether an adherence to a system of experienced benefit daily increasing, or the adoption of new schemes of doubtful operation and certain opposition, was most likely to continue and extend that benefit for which colonies were established.

Bill for imposing stamp-duties.

THE British minister preferred the untried theory to the essayed plan; and stated to parliament, that having postponed his scheme of taxation till this session, expecting that the colonies would have offered an equivalent, instead of a compensation, they had sent remonstrances. On the 7th of February 1765, he opened his system to the commons, and in a committee moved fifty-five resolutions for imposing *stamp-duties* on certain papers and documents used in the colonies, and introduced a bill grounded upon the propositions.

OF the two parties which opposed government, the duke of Newcastle's was the more strenuous in combating the *stamp-act*. The principal leaders among the whig party in the house of commons, were general Conway and Mr. Dowdeswell. Ministry had now acquired a very powerful auxiliary in the brilliant ingenuity of Mr. Charles Townshend, who had lately come over to their side. The supporters of British taxation asserted, that the colonies had been planted by our care, and nourished by our indulgence; and that as America had been the cause of great expence, it was but reasonable that she should contribute toward the general

Arguments for,

demands of the empire, as a part of which she was protected. The British legislature (they said) had a right to enact laws for every settlement within the British territories. The Americans, though not nominally, were really represented in the British parliament, and thus were on a footing with many individuals and bodies of Britons, who, having ostensibly no vote in the election of members, were equally included in the provisions of the legislature. The British finances were exhausted by a war begun for the security of the colonies; it was therefore not only equitable that they should contribute, but extremely ungrateful in them to refuse. The nation had contracted an immense debt to give them protection; the navigation act, that palladium of British commerce, had been relaxed in their favour; in short, Britain had treated them as favourite children.

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The arguments of the opposers of the *stamp-act* were resolved into two heads: the right of Britain to tax America, and the expediency of exercising that right. The sovereign claim of taxation proposed by the pending bill, was totally inconsistent with every principle of freedom; it would undo the security of property, and was contrary to the rights of British subjects. The perfection of the representative system is, that the delegate is placed in the same situation as the constituent, and is bound himself by the laws which he has a share in enacting. In Great Britain, every individual may be said to be virtually represented; as every law and impost extends equally to those who have, as to those who have not votes. The Americans were not even virtually represented; and so far were members of the British parliament from being interested in securing the property of the Americans, that, if the right of taxation were admitted, by increasing the burdens of the colonies, they would relieve their own. Such were the arguments used against the

and against the stamp-act.

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right of taxation. On the ground of expediency it was urged, that from the established system we had derived very great benefits, commercial and financial; that the willing contributions of the colonies in demands for our commodities, though circuitously, increased our revenue much more than any direct impost would augment it, since it was already manifest that they would very unwillingly pay. The particular regulations of the act itself also underwent a severe discussion. But, whatever arguments might be forcibly used against taxation as a political system, the stamp-act itself, merely as a measure of finance, was liable to little objection. The subjects and duties were extremely clear and definite, so as to preclude arbitrary exactions; simple and practicable in its operations, it would require little expence in the collection; and equitable in its subject, it would fall most heavily on those who were ablest to bear its burden. It was likely to be productive, through the increase of commerce, and consequently of engagements subject to the duty. It bore the character of its author, skilful in finance, but not profound in legislative politics. The bill was carried through both houses by a great majority; and, on the 22d of March, passing into a law, became an important epoch in the history of the present reign. The arguments on both sides in parliament were repeated, and enlarged upon in the political writings of the times. Opponents to government represented the act as not only iniquitous in itself, but as part of the general arbitrary system of lord Bute, whose counsels they conceived to have still a direction in government. According to their account, the court intended, by subduing the liberties of America, to prepare the way for overturning the constitution of England. These allegations, little as they were justified by facts, were very generally believed by persons

Is passed into a law.

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persons already disposed to impute evil designs to the executive government.

1765. Effects of the new system in America.

THE American agents were not slow in transmitting to their respective colonies an account of the stamp-act, the opposition that it encountered in parliament, and the dissatisfaction which prevailed in England. Prepossessed, as the colonies were, with a notion that the British government entertained arbitrary designs, they now conceived that America, thus taxed without her consent, was intended for slavery; and they resolved on a vigorous resistance.[r] They saw powerful opposition in parliament, and displeasure throughout the nation; they, therefore, entertained hopes that parliamentary ability, antiministerial publications, and popular clamour, might bring about a repeal; and they were aware that a ferment in the provinces would powerfully promote such a measure. The leaders of all the colonies bestirred themselves to excite the indignation of the people; they published in pamphlets, and circulated in newspapers, arguments against the justice and expediency of taxation, and represented it as the forerunner of slavery. The provincial assembly which first met after the promulgation of the stamp-act, was the assembly of Virginia; a colony particularly distinguished for loyalty to the sovereign, and attachment to the mother-country and the English constitution. Virginia, indeed, was more remarkable for a sympathy of sentiment with Britain than any of the other provinces, and had received the impression so prevalent in England from the commencement of lord Bute's administration, that the constitution was in danger: and here commenced provincial opposition to taxation by the British parliament. The assembly having met on the 29th of May, after a very warm debate, passed resolutions disavowing the right of the British parliament, or of any other body than the as-

[r] See Stedman's History of the American War, vol i. p. 29.

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sembly of Virginia, to legislate for that colony. The grounds of the disavowal, however, implied their attachment to the British constitution: they rested their claims on their RIGHTS AS BRITISH SUBJECTS, declared and confirmed by their charters. The assemblies of the other colonies adopted similar resolutions against the stamp-act, which they all concurred in voting to be a most unconstitutional law, and a violation of their rights. The assembly of Massachuset's bay had, in the preceding year, taken the lead in denying to the British parliament the right of taxation; and now, seeing that the other states were severally strenuous in the opposition, projected a general concert among the colonies. For this purpose they formed a resolution, declaring the expediency of holding a congress, to consist of deputies from the several assemblies, in order to consult on the common grievances under which the colonies laboured from the late acts of parliament, and frame and prepare a general petition, with addresses, to the king and queen, and to both houses. Letters sent to the different assemblies communicated this resolution, and invited the other provinces to meet in congress at New York on the 12th of October. Such of the colonial assemblies as met before this period, acceded to the proposition, and nominated deputies; but though a great ferment arose through America, yet it did not break out into actual tumult till autumn. The people then threatened to discontinue the use of British manufactures until the stamp-act should be repealed: yet the British minister meanwhile acted in such a way as to shew that he had no apprehensions of any serious or important opposition to the execution of his financial scheme. He had formed no measure to enforce its operation; from his conduct, it was evident that he considered it as merely a tax, which, though it might be somewhat unpopular before it was perfectly understood, would soon cease

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to be a subject of complaint. He proceeded, therefore, in his favourite pursuit for the good of the revenue.

Annexation of the Isle of Man to the crown.

Mr. Grenville found that the Isle of Man, from its centrical situation, and its adjacency to such a line of coast, was a great receptacle for smugglers; an evil which could not be thoroughly prevented under its existing government, as the sovereignty was not vested in the crown, but in a British subject. It had originally belonged to the family of Derby; and, by the affiance of a daughter of that house to the family of Athol, had descended to the dukes of Athol. Mr. Grenville proposed a bill for annexing the sovereignty to the crown of England, leaving to the duke the estates which he possessed in the island, and indemnifying * him for the rights that he was required to relinquish. The bill was passed on the 10th of May, and followed by laws for preventing illicit trade.

Several causes now combined to weaken and distress administration. The stamp-act was very unpopular in its principle, and still more obnoxious from the apprehensions that were entertained of its effects. The threats of the Americans to abstain from the use of British manufactures, caused a great alarm among manufacturers, merchants, and ship-owners; and this alarm naturally spread among all the mechanics and labourers dependent on those three classes. While afraid that they would be deprived of work, they had another subject for dissatisfaction in the scarcity of bread, and high price of provisions; evils to which they were exposed during the

* The terms granted to the duke of Athol were 70,000*l.* besides a pension for life to himself and to the duchess. As the bargain, on the part of his grace, was a compulsory sacrifice to the good of the state, on every principle of justice between sovereign and subject, he ought to have received very full indemnification. It was alleged by the duke's friends, that the compensation was not adequate. His son and successor, the present duke, having afterwards personally examined and inspected the state and resources of the island, and the advantages of which his family had been deprived, applied for a modification and amendment of the present bargain; but this belongs to a much more advanced period of the history.

Whole

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whole of this year, and which created great discontent and clamour. Although the dearness of these necessary articles could not justly be attributed to ministry, yet by the populace it was charged to their account.

With these causes of popular discontent, a measure relating to the royal family co-operated in accelerating the downfal of the Grenville administration.

Indisposition of the king.

Toward the close of this session, the king having been indisposed, a very great alarm took place, from the general affection with which his majesty's virtues were regarded, and also on considering the long minority which must have taken place if the termination had been fatal. The king, on his recovery, having gone to the house, in his speech took notice of his illness; and said, "that though not attended with danger, it had led him to reflect on the state in which his family and country would be left, should it please heaven to put a period to his life while his successor was of tender years. For that reason, he recommended to parliament to make such provision as would be necessary, should any of his children succeed to the throne before they respectively attained the age of eighteen years[1]; and proposed to their consideration, to empower him to appoint, by instruments in writing under his sign manual, either the queen, or any other person of the royal family usually residing in Great Britain, to be the guardian of the person of such successor, and the regent of these kingdoms, until such successor should attain the age of eighteen years, subject to the same restrictions as had been provided by a regency act which had been passed on the death of the late prince of Wales." A bill was proposed in the house of lords, in consequence of his majesty's recommendation, that the council of regency should consist of the dukes of York and Gloucester, his

On his recovery he recommends a provision for an eventual minority.

[1] See his majesty's speech, State Papers, 1765.

majesty's

majesty's brothers; the duke of Cumberland, his uncle; princes Henry Frederic* and Frederic William, the king's two youngest brothers; and the chief officers of state for the time being. A question arose in the house, Who are the royal family? The law-lords explained it to be, the descendants of George II.; ministry acquiesced, and the bill passed the house of lords. According to this interpretation, no one could be named regent, except the queen, or some one sprung from George II.; her royal highness the princess dowager of Wales, therefore, was not included. In the house of commons this omission was construed to be an indignity to her royal highness; and a motion was made, that the name of the princess should be inserted immediately after the name of the queen. This amendment being admitted, the bill was returned to the peers, and so it passed into a law.

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Regency bill.

The adminstration having never been popular, was now become very obnoxious; and temporary and incidental distresses were imputed to their misconduct and evil designs. Complaints had for several months prevailed among the silk-weavers, that their employment had been greatly injured by the encouragement bestowed on French manufactures. Near the close of the session, their murmurs rose to tumultuous expostulation; and in numerous bodies they surrounded the palace and the houses of parliament, and presented a petition for the redress of their grievances. A mob once collected, from whatever cause, rarely confines itself to just, legal, and constitutional operations; these persons therefore proceeding to various outrages, were at length repressed by the interference of the military, who were called in to assist the civil power in the re-establishment of order and tranquillity. Inimical to ministry, great numbers of the people and some of the

* Late duke of Cumberland.

popular

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popular leaders ascribed the ground of complaint to their misrule, and severely censured the means that were necessarily employed for the suppression of the disorders.

OTHER circumstances now co-operated with the popular enmity to administration. The cabinet had evidently lost the favour and confidence of the sovereign. The framers and supporters of the hypothesis concerning the secret supremacy of lord Bute, ascribed the declension and decay of their influence to the suggestions of the alleged favourite. According to this theory, Mr. Grenville and the duke of Bedford had not been such subservient tools to what was stiled the interior cabinet or secret junto, as was expected and required, and had frequently thwarted the sovereign and his private friends and counsellors both in measures and appointments. The popular party asserted the omission of the princess dowager's name in the first bill of regency, to have been regarded by the court as an intended insult, and as such, to have been resented. But it has never been PROVED that lord Bute retained the alleged power and influence; and therefore no conclusion founded on such a supposition can be admitted as historical truth. That the king might be more attached to some individuals than to others, independently of their political qualifications, is no less probable, than that a sovereign should have the affections of another man. It is equally natural and allowable, that a monarch should wish to promote the interests and aggrandisement of the objects of his attachment, in preference to indifferent persons. The duty of his situation precludes not the bestowal on his friends of offices of honour or emolument, for which they may be respectively qualified. In the many departments of executive service, there are offices which do not require an equal degree of ability and effort as others. Places of high trust a patriotic sovereign will bestow, to the utmost of his power, on the fittest that can be

be found for promoting the public benefit; but there are many other subordinate appointments which, without detriment to the public good, may be given according to private favour. Agreeably to the principle and rule which directed his choice of ministers from the beginning, the king chose his chief official counsellors; but some offices of less importance he was willing to bestow according to his own predilection. It appears, that after the duke of Bedford had firmly established himself and his partisans, one of his chief objects was to extend his own patronage by donatives to his creatures; that he strongly thwarted his royal master [x]; and that the other chief members of the cabinet joined in his unaccommodating and refractory opposition. Hence was thought to be derived their procedure in the regency bill; and at the close of the session, ministers possessed no more favour with the king, than they had enjoyed with the people from the commencement of their administration. Various conferences took place between the chief ministers and the sovereign, respecting their continuance in office; at length, according to general and uncontradicted report, the duke of Bedford presumed to use such language to his sovereign, as could not possibly be tolerated [y]; and, as his colleagues adhered to the president of the council, the administration was dismissed.

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Mr. George Grenville's ministry has eventually proved a very important æra in the history of this reign. He himself was a man of good understanding and upright intentions; possessing, however, that species and degree of ability which may be of great public service in the ordinary course of affairs, he by

Dismissal of the Grenville administration.

[x] See Life of lord Chatham; History of the late Minority; and Junius's Letter to the duke of Bedford. "After two years submission (says Junius) you thought you had collected a strength sufficient to control his influence, and that it was your turn to be a tyrant, because you had been a slave."

[y] See political writings of 1765, passim; also Junius's Letter to the duke of Bedford in a note.

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no means rose to that genius which can adapt its exertions to situations untried.[z] Besides, the new circumstances which Mr. Grenville encountered, were of his own creation; he assumed an hypothesis, that the country was so much exhausted as not to have the means of adequate revenue without a new source; but his theory was demonstrably erroneous: such a revenue was raised as, exclusive of America, and during the continuance of peace, annually reduced the national debt. Industrious as Mr. Grenville shewed himself in his inquiries, and accurate in financial calculations, as a politician he proved himself not equal to the situation in which he was placed. His projects to produce a partial increase of revenue drove the colonies to disaffection, and generated a fatal political change, without obtaining the revenue which he sought, and which might have accrued circuitously to the country if he had left the subject untouched. Mr. Grenville has been charged with being the tool of lord Bute to establish absolute power; but his conduct affords no ground to justify the imputation of unconstitutional views. The proceedings respecting Wilkes were rash and precipitate, but interfered no more with liberty than the measures of every minister had done since the revolution. His schemes of finance, on which, including American taxation, the merits of his ministerial character rest, display an industrious man, of official habits and experience, conversant in details, without rising to the general principles of political economy; but neither in their plan nor execution do they manifest arbitrary intentions. In his acts he did not conceive himself to be violating the rights of British subjects; and in his measures for the operation of his acts, he shewed no intention or disposition to give them effect by force. Authentic history is not justified in

[z] See the admirable character of Grenville, drawn by Mr. Burke, in his speech on American taxation.

exhibiting

exhibiting him as the promoter of arbitrary power; but the reviewer of his administration, allowing him the credit of an upright public steward, will discern that he was not a consummate statesman, and must regret that political measures most fatal to this country originated in the ministerial projects of Mr. George Grenville.

CHAP. V.

His majesty continues to desire a ministry unconnected with party politics.—Applies through lord Bute to Mr. Pitt for that purpose.—Mr. Pitt's propositions deemed by the sovereign inadmissible.—Frustrated in his grand object, the king commissions the duke of Cumberland to form a ministry.—The marquis of Rockingham and the whig party come into office.—New ministry court the popular favour—but want the support and co-operation of Mr. Pitt.—Sudden death of their patron, the duke of Cumberland.—Change in administration encourages in America opposition to the stamp-act.—Colonial concerts and associations against British commodities.—Outcry in Britain against the stamp-act.—Meeting of Parliament.—American affairs chief subjects of ministerial consideration.—Ministers plan, a declaratory law, reserving the right of taxation and the repeal of the stamp-act—plan adopted—declaratory law passed—repeal of the stamp-act—Rockingham's system shews good intentions, but temporizing policy.—Series of popular acts.—Plan for the government of Canada.—Change of ministry.—Mr. Pitt receives full powers to form a new administration.—View of Affairs in British India, from the close of the war with France to the grant of the Dewanne.—Character of the system pursued by the company's servants in India at this period.

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WHEN the Grenville administration was drawing to a close, offers had been again made to Mr. Pitt, but that illustrious statesman, considering solely the good of his country, and proposing ministers to be appointed merely for their fitness, made no allowance for particular predilections, would not accede to any terms short of a complete change of men, measures, and counsels, and would not even gratify the court by leaving to its appointment the subordinate offices. His majesty did not deem it expedient to purchase at such a price even the services of Mr. Pitt.

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The agent in this last negociation had been the duke of Cumberland, who was now employed by the king to form a new ministry. The duke had himself been much connected with the whig party; of which, the duke of Newcastle being far advanced in years, the marquis of Rockingham, an upright, amiable, and well-disposed nobleman, of very great fortune, was now reckoned the head. His highness, not having succeeded in his application to Mr. Pitt, made proposals to the marquis of Rockingham, which he, without any communication with that great man, accepted. The marquis of Rockingham was made first lord of the treasury, the duke of Newcastle lord privy-seal, Mr. Dowdeswell chancellor of the exchequer, the duke of Grafton and general Conway principal secretaries of state, and the earl of Northington chancellor.

Rockingham administration.

This administration, considering itself as the whig confederacy, which had in two preceding reigns possessed the direction of affairs, appeared determined to proceed upon the whig principles, and to court popular favour; for ability or political experience none of the principal ministers were distinguished. The severest accuser of lord Bute would not pretend that the marquis of Rockingham was raised for his wisdom, any more than his lordship; so far, however, as pleasing manners and whig principles, with moderate talents, fit a man for conducting the affairs of a great nation, the marquis was qualified for being prime minister. This cabinet did not at first attain the popularity which its members expected from the appointment of a whig connexion. Why, said the city of London and other numerous bodies, is not Mr. Pitt at the head of affairs? The marquis of Rockingham may be a very well-disposed man, but what are the proofs of his political capacity, and of his being able to remedy the many evils that have befallen this country since the resignation of Mr. Pitt? The public had, in fact, without perceiving

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it, undergone a change of opinion as to the constituents of a beneficial administration. Men no longer considered the question, Is or is not the minister connected with the great whig families? but, Is he or is he not fit for conducting the business of the nation? It was apprehended that the whig party had made its peace with the secret junto by which, according to the prevailing popular hypothesis, the country was governed. The chief prop of this ministry was the duke of Cumberland, who was himself a most zealous whig, with all the principles, sentiments, and prejudices which had distinguished that party during the reign of his father and grandfather; but this advantage they did not long enjoy: on the 31st of October his royal highness died suddenly of an apoplexy, in the forty-fifth year of his age.

Death of the duke of Cumberland.

His character.

William Augustus duke of Cumberland was a man of very respectable and amiable moral qualities. In the private relations of life, his conduct was highly meritorious. He was an affectionate brother and uncle, a mild and generous master, a sincere and ardent friend, and a zealous well-wisher to the interests of his country. He was charitable to the poor, liberally bestowed alms on those who could not work to earn their bread, and devised a variety of employments for those who could labour. He was a brave, intrepid soldier; and if, as a general, he was not very successful, his disappointments could not be imputed to want of resolution, activity, or enterprise. His campaigns in Flanders were, no doubt, less successful than the expectation of the country anticipated; but those were too sanguine. It was not considered that his highness, when commander in chief of the allied army, was only four and twenty years of age, with few antecedent opportunities of military experience, and had to combat marshal Saxe, one of the first generals of the time, at the head of a more powerful army than France had ever before brought into

into the field. His conduct during the rebellion met with great praise. The severities that followed (and which the perverse malignity of jacobites styled cruelty, and, no doubt, exaggerated [a], in order to render the heroic prince unpopular) were perhaps salutary and beneficial. Fortune does not always attend the brave. The campaign, which ended at Cloister-Seven, certainly was not successful; his highness's retreat, however, saved a number of brave men, who might have been destroyed by the French, had he been rash enough to continue the contest. His cautious prudence preserved an army destined to victory under another general, and actually laid the foundation of prince Ferdinand's successes. His highness, after this event living in retirement, was eminent for the exercise of the private virtues; and so liberal, munificent, and kind was he to all within the sphere of his influence, that, although historical readers may perhaps not immediately discover in his life the ground for his usual title of the GREAT duke of Cumberland, they can in every part of his character finds facts to justify the application of the GOOD duke.

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WHEN the change of ministry became known in America, the spirit which had been long gathering burst into open violence; first and principally at Boston, and afterwards in several of the other colonies. At Boston the fury of the populace was directed against the officers of the crown; both those who were supposed friendly to taxation in general, and those who were appointed for executing the stamp-act. Their houses were pillaged, their furniture was destroyed, their official papers were committed to the flames, and only by concealment did they save their persons. The governor assembled

Proceedings in America.

[a] The report generally prevalent in Scotland, concerning the sufferings of rebels not brought to trial, are so totally inconsistent with the mild and benevolent character of the royal general, and are founded on suppositions so repugnant to law, justice, and common humanity, that they carry with them intrinsic evidence of their falsehood.

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the council of the province, and found no inclination in them to suppress the riots.[b] He attempted to muster some companies of militia in order to keep the peace; but they refused to obey his orders. The stamp officer, seeing the danger of the employment which he was required to exercise, resigned his office. In the other colonies the disorders were not so outrageous as at Boston, but were sufficiently violent to frighten revenue officers from collecting the duty on stamps. No duty was levied, and the act was completely inefficient. Deputies from nine of the thirteen colonies met at New York, on the 1st of October 1765, to hold a general[c] congress. After having spent several days in debate and deliberation, the delegates drew up a declaration of the rights and grievances of the colonies. Respecting the first head, their *rights*, they proceeded more on the moderate principles of Virginia and the middle colonies, than on the violent republican ideas of New England; the rights which they asserted they claimed as British subjects, and according to the British constitution The declaration set forth, that they owed the same allegiance to the sovereign as the people of Great Britain, and all due subordination to parliament; that they were entitled to the same rights, privileges, and immunities, as their fellow-subjects; that no taxes could be imposed upon free-born Britons, but by their own consent, or that of their representatives; that the colonies were not, and could not be, represented in parliament; that the only representatives of the inhabitants of the colonies were those that were

[b] See Stedman's History, p. 39.

[c] "The four colonies not represented in this congress were, New Hampshire, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia. From the last three of these, deputies were not sent, because the letters from Massachuset's bay arrived during the recess of their assemblies, which were not afterwards permitted to meet till the 1st of October had passed: and in New Hampshire, the assembly did not think fit to appoint deputies, although they approved of the holding of a general congress, and signified an inclination to join in any petition that should be agreed upon by the deputies of the other colonies." See Stedman's History, vol. i. p. 39.

chosen

chosen by themselves; and that no taxes had been or could be imposed upon them but by their representatives; that all supplies to the crown were free gifts from the people; that, therefore, it was unreasonable in the British parliament to grant the property of the inhabitants of the colonies; and finally, that trial by jury was the right of a British subject. They next proceeded to their *grievances*: the stamp-act tended to subvert the rights and liberties of the colonies; the duties imposed, unconstitutional in their principle, were oppressive in their operation, and the payment impracticable; the British manufactures, which they were in the habit of purchasing, contributed greatly to the revenue; the restrictions imposed by the late acts would disable them from purchasing these articles, and consequently would materially injure the revenue; the increase and prosperity of the colonies depended on the free enjoyment of their rights and liberties: and these considerations of right and expediency they had firmly, but respectfully, urged in memorials and petitions to the king and both houses of parliament.

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Besides the actual resolutions formed, an important point was gained by the meeting of this congress, in the establishment of a correspondence and concert between the leading men of the several colonies; which paved the way for a combination, should future circumstances render their joint efforts necessary or expedient. The moderation of their proceedings, the alleged grounds of their claims, the fairness of their professions, and the apparent respectfulness of their statements to the king and parliament, manifested a sound policy, much more formidable than tumultuous violence. Associations were formed for prohibiting the importation of British manufactures until the stamp-act should be repealed. On the 1st of November, when the act was to commence, neither stamps nor distributors

Resolutions against imports from Britain:

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were to be found. Commerce was at a stand, because the instruments were wanting that were now to legalize its transactions. The civil courts could not proceed for the same reason. The customs could not be levied: in short, there was a general stagnation of business; and Mr. Grenville's scheme of taxation, so far from improving the revenue, obstructed one of its principal sources.

effects of these on Britain.

In Britain, great clamours arose against the stamp-act, and the manufacturing and mercantile interests promoted petitions for its repeal. The colonies were represented as grossly injured, and the violence which had been committed was imputed to despair. Britain itself was in a distressed situation; manufactures were at a stand, commerce was stagnant, provisions were at an enormous price, and a numerous populace without the means of procuring a livelihood. A great part of our evils was imputed to the situation of America; and from that cause, commercial difficulties were likely to increase; as vast sums were owing to British merchants from the colonies, which the debtors declared an inability to pay in their present situation.

Plans of administration.

American affairs were the chief objects that engaged the attention of the Rockingham administration, whose situation was extremely delicate and embarrassing. On the one hand, the Grenville party, the devisers of American taxation, and the framers of the stamp-act, insisted on coercive measures: on the other, Mr. Pitt and his adherents disavowed the right of taxing America, and acquiesced in the revenue circuitously derived from her by commerce. Ministry proposed to steer a middle course, which they thought would neither precipitate disturbances in America by the rashness of their counsels, nor degrade the dignity of the crown and nation by irresolution and weakness. Mr. Secretary Conway wrote letters to this purport to the governors of the chief colonies, expressing at

the same time a disposition to grant relief to grievances, and to vindicate the rights of the British crown and parliament. He recommended to them to try lenient measures: but, if they should fail, to use the force with which they were entrusted. CHAP. V. 1765.

PARLIAMENT met on the 16th of December 1765; when his majesty in his speech took notice of important occurrences in America. He stated, as a reason for assembling the parliament before the holidays, that numerous vacancies[d] had taken place in the house of commons, which he wished them to have an opportunity of supplying, that they might proceed after the recess to a great variety of important affairs. On the 14th of January 1766, they met after the holidays; his majesty again, in his speech from the throne, treated chiefly of American affairs, and recommended such a temperature of policy as might restore harmony to the colonies, without detracting from the rights of Britain. This was the middle course which ministry adopted, and by which they hoped to satisfy both the promoters and opposers of American taxation. The beginning of the session was employed in examining a great variety of petitions, both from Americans and from British merchants and manufacturers; the object of which was to establish the evils that resulted from the stamp-act. The original proposers of the tax contended that these petitions were procured by ministerial artifice; but that, even if trade had suffered to the degree alleged in those petitions, it would be better to submit to a temporary inconvenience, than by a repeal of the act to hazard the total loss of British supremacy. Meeting of parliament. 1766.

To ascertain the grounds of the petitions and complaints, and also other important facts respecting the colonies, witnesses were examined by parliament; and of these, the most distinguished was Benjamin Franklin. Bred a printer, this extraordinary man,

[d] By the new appointments, and the change of ministry.

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through genius and industry regulated and directed by judgment, rose to a high pinnacle of physical discovery: he soon shewed, that the mind which could elicit fire from the heavens, could converge and reverberate the rays of moral and political light. He had visited and inspected the greater part of the colonies, was well acquainted with the best informed and ablest men in all, and none was conceived more accurately to know the circumstances of the colonies and the dispositions of the people, or more ably to comprehend the policy which in such circumstances and dispositions would be most suitable and beneficial. Highly estimated among his countrymen, he had been appointed the provincial agent for representing to the British government the evils that must accrue from the new system of taxation. The Grenville ministry little regarded statements tending to demonstrate the impolicy of their own measures. By the Rockingham administration his accounts were very differently received, and he was called to give evidence before the house of commons. His testimony tended to prove, that the colonists were well affected to the parent country, and considered the interests of Britain and America so closely connected, that they could not be separated without the greatest loss to both parties. Impressed as they were with this truth, and attached to the parent country, theirs was the affection of British subjects, enjoying constitutional rights: the new system of taxation and the stamp-act they deemed flagrant violations of those rights, and would not submit to the present act, or any other proceeding from the same principle, unless they were compelled; a conciliatory system, therefore, beginning with the repeal of the stamp-act, would re-establish tranquillity and harmony. Such was the substance of Franklin's evidence; and from its intrinsic probability and consistency, as well as the character of

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the witness, it made a very strong impression both on parliament and the public. CHAP. V. 1766.

THOSE who were friendly to a repeal consisted of two parties: the friends of ministry, who maintained the right of American taxation, although they supported the expediency of rescinding that particular act; and the votaries of Mr. Pitt, who entirely denied to parliament the right of taxation. The question resolved itself, therefore, into two divisions; 1st, Whether Britain possessed the right of taxing the colonies or not? 2dly, Whether the stamp-act was or was not expedient? The first question, depending chiefly upon great and constitutional principles, afforded an ample field for political reasoning. The deniers of the right of taxation, after prefatory remarks on the nature and end of government, and the component principles of just and beneficial polity, took a view of the constitution of England in the means that it has established for levying taxes. Tracing our history up to the earliest times, and pursuing it downwards, they contended, that no British subject had been taxed but by himself or his representatives; and that this right the planters of colonies carried with them when they emigrated, not as a specific charter granted to those colonies, but as a general right of British subjects. The operation of this right they illustrated in a great variety of instances; they endeavoured at the same time to make a distinction between what they called external duties, that is, restrictions on commerce; and internal, to be levied on the body of the people. They adduced various arguments from the practice of ancient states; and quoted modern instances of the impolicy of coercive measures and taxation on colonies.

THE arguments in favour of taxation were less forcible, though more extensive and detailed, and supported by a great variety of alleged precedents

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as well as instances. The British constitution was in a fluctuating state; and many things which were once constitutional were no longer so now. Various taxes had been raised, contrary to law, by forced benevolences, ship-money, and other means; and the connexion between the representation and taxation could not stand the test of historical inquiry: representation was very arbitrary, and accidental; whereas taxation was general. There was in the different colonies a diversity of forms and regulations, which all shewed the jurisdiction of the mother-country, exerting itself as might best answer the circumstances of the case; and heretofore duties had been levied without the least opposition. The navigation-act shut up their commerce with foreign countries; but did they ever question the legality of that act? Their ports were made subject to duties which cramped and diminished their trade, yet it never was maintained that this impost was illegal. The distinction between internal and external taxes was totally unfounded; if a tax were laid on any article at the ports of New England, Pennsylvania, Virginia, or any other colony, its operation would be as much felt as if it were raised in the inland part of the country. Respecting the representation in parliament, the Americans were as much represented as the greatest part of the people of England. America, it was alleged by the Grenville party, never could have objected to taxation, unless they had been encouraged by the seditious doctrines recently so prevalent in England. The question was not now, what *was* law, and what *was* the constitution? but what *is* law, and what *is* the constitution? If a practice had generally prevailed, had been held to be law, and never had been questioned, as a number of precedents proved this to be, it became law and the constitution by that very admission. Various statutes respecting Chester, Durham, and other places, were quoted, particularly by

by Mr. Grenville, to support the practice of taxing without representation. Protection and obedience were reciprocal: we protected America, therefore she was bound to obey this country, and she must either obey in all points, or in none. When was America emancipated? Was she not still dependent on the mother-country. CHAP. V. 1766.

Mr. Pitt, who had spoken with his usual ability on the opposite side, replied to Mr. Grenville, and demonstrated the absurdity of arguing on judicial precedents in great questions of legislative policy. "I come not here (he said) armed at all points with law cases and acts of parliament, with the statute-book doubled down in dogs ears, to defend the cause of liberty; but for the defence of liberty, upon a general constitutional principle: it is a ground on which I stand firm; on which I dare meet any man." He contended, that if America had yielded to taxation by the British parliament, in which she was not represented, she would yield to slavery; and that a myriad of judicial decisions could not make slavery liberty, nor agreeable to the constitution of England. He insisted that there was a difference between internal and external taxation; the first being imposed for the express purpose of raising a revenue, and the second for that of regulating commerce. Mr. Grenville had asked, when were the colonies *emancipated?* "When (said Mr. Pitt) were they made slaves? America has produced to this country, through a trade in all its branches, a revenue of two millions a year: this is the price that America pays you for protection. Are the proceeds of the stamp-act to indemnify us for the loss of that revenue? and, as she has shewn a determination to resist, how are you to render your stamp-act efficient? Is it by force? force will destroy the value of the object for which you are contending: the event will be extremely precarious, and even success destructive: if America falls, she will fall like the strong man, and

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with her pull down the pillars of the constitution." On these grounds, he proposed that the stamp-act should be absolutely, totally, and immediately repealed.

MINISTRY introduced a prefatory bill, declaring that Britain had a right to tax America. The declaratory act passed in the beginning of March; and on the 18th, the stamp-act was repealed, by a majority of 275 to 167.[e] Some time after, another bill was passed to indemnify those who had incurred penalties on account of the stamp-act.

Popular acts.

THE great object of the Rockingham ministry appears to have been popularity. The cyder tax had been most undeservedly unpopular. To court the favour of the people, they proposed and procured the repeal of this tax, though equitable and productive. Resolutions of the house were passed, declaring the illegality of general warrants and the seizure of papers. They proposed and procured an act for restraining the importation of foreign silks, and thereby excited the joyful gratitude of the English manufacturers. The price of corn still continuing high, provisions were made for preventing monopoly and exports, and procuring by importation a more liberal supply. They promoted the extension of trade, especially by a commercial treaty with Russia. Notwithstanding these popular and beneficial acts, the ministry could not acquire credit, strength, and stability. The votaries of the hypothesis concerning secret influence, represented them as the tools of lord Bute; who employed them until a more efficient cabinet could be formed, and would soon abandon them when no longer necessary for his purpose. The partisans of Mr. Pitt, and those who from patriotism wished the reins of government to be placed in the ablest hands, desired that he should be prime minister; and before the termination of the session, a great majority of the nation

[e] See Parliamentary Journals.

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wished and expected a speedy change of ministry. Their immediate dissolution is generally believed to have been accelerated by the chancellor Northington. After the prorogation of parliament, ministers projected a plan for the civil government of Canada. The new system proposed to leave to the natives their ancient rights of property, or civil laws, and to temper the rigor of their criminal code by the more equitable and liberal system of English jurisprudence. The chancellor represented the scheme as theoretical, visionary, and totally unworthy of practical statesmen; and declared he could no longer be member of so incapable an administration. His majesty was convinced of their incompetency to carry on with beneficial effect the functions of administration. He made overtures to Mr. Pitt, containing ample powers to form a ministry, and on the 12th of July the administration of the marquis of Rockingham terminated,

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Mr. Pitt's ministry had been formed on a principle which prevailed during the greater part of the two preceding reigns. It was composed of what was called *the whig connexion*, but certainly shewed neither ability nor efficiency that could make it permanent. The extraordinary powers of Burke, which were employed in its defence, endeavoured to impute its dissolution to the interior cabinet, the existence of which he assumed, and the fancied operation of which he described, with such strength and brilliancy.[r] But it really fell from its own weakness: in the most important offices there was neither great talents, political knowledge, nor official experience. The marquis himself was a very upright and disinterested man, and his colleagues possessed fair and respectable characters; but they do not appear to have acted from their own judgment: they wished to please all parties, a sentiment indicating more of an amiable disposition than of profound wisdom,

[r] In his Thoughts on the Discontents.

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and leading to indecisive and consequently ineffectual measures. Of this kind was their principal policy, that ascertained the character of their administration—the law which declared the British right of taxing America, and the repeal of the [g] stamp-act. Their less important measures were popular, rather than able. They certainly were very moderate in the bestowal of lucrative appointments on themselves or their friends; but, on the other hand, their claims on public gratitude were not great. Perhaps indeed, it will be difficult to find, in the history of ministers, a set of men more respectable for private characters, or more inefficient as public servants, than the marquis of Rockingham's administration.

Affairs of India.

BEFORE we proceed with British affairs, it is necessary to take a view of India. On the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar, we have brought the narrative of those India transactions in which France was concerned, to the close of the war. Those of Bengal, to which her power and influence in the last years of hostilities very little extended, we have not pursued to so late a period, but left them at the perfect establishment of the company's power. Meer Jaffier Ally Cawn, the viceroy of these pro-

[g] The reader will, I hope, pardon me for repeating what I had formerly written on this subject, as it illustrates the grounds on which I formed a judgment of the marquis of Rockingham's ministry.—"An attempt to satisfy two parties of totally contrary views, by not deciding the point at issue, is rarely either the offspring of wisdom, or the parent of success. Such temporizing indecision generally dissatisfies both parties, and keeps the differences alive. The stamp-act had been opposed in America, not as inexpedient, but as unjust. They had not pretended they could not pay the impost, but that the imposers had no right to tax. Either the stamp-act was a grievance, or was not; if a grievance, the redress did not apply to the subject of complaint; if not a grievance, why offer redress? If the objections of the colonies were groundless, it would have been just in parliament to disregard them; and wise or unwise, according to the value of the object, means of coercion, and probable result. If the right was ascertained, and we thought coercion prudent, the repeal would be absurd; if not, the declaration of right would be a mere impotent bravado. If the complaints of America were well grounded, then it would have been just and wise to renounce the exercise of an unjust power. Here was the maintenance of an obnoxious speculative principle, with the abandonment of practical benefit, for which only it could deserve support. The declaratory law tended to counteract, in America, the effect of the repeal. The measures of the Rockingham administration were esteemed the result of good intentions, but of feeble and short-sighted policy." Life of Burke, 1st edition, p. 76.

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vinces, elevated by the English, and dependent on them, found himself by his elevation surrounded with difficulties and dangers. The relations of his deposed predecessor regarded with resentment the man whom they deemed the murderer of their kinsman, and the usurper of his power. The sums stipulated to indemnify the English had exhausted his treasury; and the commercial privileges granted to them, diminished the revenue by which he might have repaired his finances. To relieve his necessities, he betook himself to unwarrantable and tyrannical methods of levying money, and thus lost the affections of his subjects. From the indigence and dissatisfaction of his people, he was unable to procure or extort the supplies that he required; his troops were ill-paid and useless; and his principal lords not only resisted his arbitrary exactions, but refused the just and accustomed tribute. Thus distressed, he tried to relieve himself by infringing on the privileges and exemptions granted to the servants of the India company, and thereby alienated the affections of those who alone were able to defend him against his enemies. In the year 1758, the mogul or emperor of Hindostan had been deposed by a conspiracy, headed by his vizier, and assisted by the Mahrattas; and not long after his deposition, he died in prison. His eldest son, Shah Zadda, endeavoured to assert his right to the throne of Hindostan, and was seconded by Mr. Law, a French gentleman, who, with about two hundred of his countrymen, after the conquest of the French settlements in Bengal by the English, had retired among the natives. Shah Zadda marched toward the frontiers of Bengal. Ramnorain, the nabob or governor of Patna, within Jaffier's viceroyalty, had refused to acknowledge his authority, until the approach of colonel Clive and the English army intimidated him to submission. When Shah Zadda reached the vicinity of Patna, Ramnorain thought the

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the present a good opportunity to render himself independent of the viceroy of Bengal, and declared for the prince of Hindostan. Jaffier was again obliged to apply to the English council. Colonel Clive marched towards Patna: Ramnorain proposed to return to his allegiance; and Shah Zadda retired, sending at the same time a letter to colonel Clive, representing his distressed situation, and declaring that he did not mean to disturb Jaffier's government, but wished to collect a force against the usurper of his father's throne. Colonel Clive, finding on inquiry that it would be impolitic to interfere in his behalf, sent him a very polite answer, declining, in the company's name, to take any share in the dispute concerning the succession. Soon after, on the 14th of January 1760, colonel Clive resigned the command to colonel Caillaud, and returned to Europe.

Shah Zadda, despairing of assistance from the English, took the advantage of the interval between the departure of colonel Clive, and the arrival of his successor. Attacking and defeating Ramnorain, he besieged Patna; but colonel Caillaud, with the European troops, having come to its relief, he raised the siege. The prince, now by the death of his father declared emperor of Hindostan by the name of Shah Allum, was assailed by the British and Bengal troops, and entirely defeated.

New revolution in Bengal.

In the summer of 1760, Mr. Vansittart arrived at Calcutta as governor-general, and successor to colonel Clive, when a new scheme of politics was adopted. It was the opinion of the council, that the war in support of Meer Jaffier was extremely imprudent; that he was unworthy of the protection of the English; that he was altogether destitute of gratitude for the favours which he had received; that he and his son were endeavouring to dissolve the connexion; that the young Mogul's affairs wore a favourable aspect in his own country; that it would be wise in the

the company to enter into a treaty with the hereditary prince; and that, if established on the throne of Delhi, he might be a most beneficial ally. To this alliance, the enmity between Shah Allum and Jaffier was a great, but, to the ingenuity of the council, not an insuperable obstacle. It appeared to the governor-general and council of Calcutta, that Jaffier was totally unfit for the viceroyalty; and therefore it was expedient that he should have a protector, invested with full powers to guide him to the best and most salutary counsels. The fittest person for this office was conceived to be Cossim Ally Khan, son-in-law to the viceroy[h]; to arrange and execute the proposed change, therefore, governor Vansittart and colonel Caillaud marched to Moorshedabad, surrounded his palace, and demanded that he should dismiss evil-counsellors, and instantly place his government in the hands of his son-in-law; threatening, in case of refusal, to storm the palace. Jaffier, knowing that he was incapable of resistance against such a force, yielded to their request, and beseeched them to grant him an asylum in Calcutta; to which they assented, on condition that he would entirely abdicate the viceroyalty. Cossim was proclaimed subah of the three provinces, having previously stipulated, as a recompence for this great service done to the provinces, the entire resignation to the India company of a considerable part of the revenue. The new viceroy generously bestowed a present for the use of the army amounting to five lacks of rupees, about 62,500*l.* and further added a gift of twenty lacks of rupees, about 225,000*l.* to general Vansittart and three other members of a select committee which had concerted the plan. There were, however members of the council, and others, who did not approve of these transactions. Jaffier's viceroyalty had been guaranteed by a treaty, of which there was no evidence to shew any violation on his part, no

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[h] His own son had been killed by a flash of lightning.

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proof that he had conspired against the English interest. Nothing conducive to the general advantage of the company could be rationally expected from such a revolution, as no successor could be more completely subject to them, from his want of personal capacity or importance: and this last reasoning was found by experience to be just.

Cossim Ally Khan

COSSIM ALLY KHAN was of a character very different from that of his father-in-law. Bold, subtle, enterprising, and ingenious, he conceived the design of freeing himself from dependence on the English. Not ascribing to generosity, services for which he had paid so high a price, he did not think that he owed a return of gratitude. Though determined, however, to attempt his own emancipation, he did not precipitately discover his intentions. He availed himself of their assistance, defeated Shah Allum, and drove him from the frontiers of his province. He also reduced the refractory rajahs, who had rebelled against the feeble administration of Jaffier, and compelled them to make good the payment of their tribute; repaired the exhausted finances, confirmed the discipline and fidelity of his troops, and brought his territories to peace and obedience. Having thus secured himself at home, he began to prepare for shaking off his dependence on the English. He first removed from Moorshedabad, where his conduct, from his vicinity to Calcutta, was exposed to the vigilant and jealous inspection of the company; and in 1761, pitched his residence at Mongheer, two hundred miles farther up the Ganges, which he strongly fortified. He also began to new-model his army, and tried to overcome the timidity that made them stand so much in awe of British soldiers. Sensible of the superiority of European discipline, he studied it with great attention, taught it to his soldiers, and introduced the European modes and construction of fire-arms. He changed the muskets from match-locks to fire-locks; and altering the cannon, formed, according

cording to the English pattern, a powerful train of artillery. Aware of the mischiefs from treachery, so frequent in India, he endeavoured to conciliate the chief men of his court, and confined or cut off those whom he apprehended to be insincere. Having thus strengthened himself, he began gradually to throw off the mask. In the latter end of the year 1762, he insisted that the English private traders should be subjected to the regular payment of duties throughout his dominions. This step alarmed the factory, and Mr. Vansittart himself went up to Mongheer, to expostulate with him on the subject. The viceroy answered with great firmness, that if the English were permitted to trade without paying of customs, they would in time monopolise the commerce of his country, and consequently annihilate that part of his revenue. Should this be the case, it would be much more for his interest to lay his trade entirely open, which would draw a greater number of merchants into his dominions, promote the sale of their produce and manufactures, enrich his territories, and improve his revenue. He added, that it would also effectually cut off the principal subjects of dispute between him and the English, an object which he professed to have very much at heart. The governor, sensible that an open trade was in the viceroy's power, and that it would be a great loss to the private traffic of the company's servants, thought it expedient to agree to certain restrictions. The factory at Calcutta, informed of this agreement, was enraged; and it was now generally regretted that Jaffier had not been suffered to continue upon his throne. On the 17th of January 1763, the council of Calcutta publicly disavowed the treaty concluded by the governor, not only as having been made without authority, but as being dishonourable to the English name, and pernicious to the English interest. Great disputes arose, commerce was interrupted, and applications were made to Cossim to enter into a new agreement; but, confident of his strength, he

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revolts from the English.

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he peremptorily refused, and even returned a very haughty answer: both sides now prepared for war.

War.

THE English struck the first blow, by surprising Patna on the 25th of June 1763; but the conquerors, despising the enemy too much, neglected prudent precautions. In their eagerness to pillage that opulent city, they dispersed themselves on every side. The Indian governor, informed of the disorder of the enemy, and reinforced by the country, returned to Patna, attacked the scattered English, destroyed many of them, and compelled the rest to seek refuge in the fort. Finding themselves unable to defend the place, they abandoned it, crossed the Ganges, and marched downwards toward Calcutta. On the 1st of July they were overtaken by the enemy in great force, and, after an obstinate resistance, entirely defeated. About this time, the deputies that had been sent to Mongheer, returned to the presidency, and were, with their attendants, treacherously murdered. Major Adams now took the field, with one regiment of the king's forces, a few of the company's, two troops of European cavalry, ten companies of sepoys, and twelve pieces of cannon. The English commander was anxiously desirous to bring the enemy to battle; and, by his judicious manœuvres, succeeded (July 19) in compelling them to an action at Ballasora on the Ganges, about forty miles below Moorshedabad.[1] Cossim's troops, elated with recent victory and improved in discipline, received the Europeans with great firmness, but were at last completely defeated. Major Adams losing no time, proceeded immediately to Moorshedabad, but found a considerable body of the enemy intrenched before the place. Their intrenchments were fifteen feet high, and defended by numerous artillery: the English commander, therefore, had recourse to stratagem. On

[1] The reader, who has not attended minutely to the geography of Bengal, will be pleased to observe, that this is not Ballasore, which is at the mouth of the Ganges.

the 23d of July, in the evening, with a small body, he made a feint of an attack upon the part where the enemy was strongest; and the same night, while the Indians were amused on that side, he led the main body of his troops round to the weakest and least defensive part of the intrenchments. The Indians in the morning, astonished and frightened by this movement, abandoned their position, and left Moorshedabad to the English. Major Adams, without slackening his diligence, pursued the viceroy through marshes and forests, across many wide branches of the Ganges. Cossim, with great judgment, abstaining from a decisive engagement, defended his dominions post by post, and in various detachments. On the 2d of August, however, they were so strongly stationed on the banks of Nullas, one of the tributary rivers of the Ganges, that they resolved to await the attack of the enemy. A very obstinate battle took place, in which, at last, the English obtained the victory. The Indians again made a stand at a strong fort called Audanulla, covered in front by a considerable swamp, on one side by mountains, and on the other by the river. To this natural security, they added very strong fortifications, amounting to 100 pieces of cannon, and surrounded by a deep ditch, fifty-four feet wide, and full of water, except on the side of the mountains. The only dry ground by which the English could carry on their approaches, was a small part between the swamp and the river. Having invested the place on this side for a fortnight, without much progress, major Adams tried another. Observing that the Indians, who trusted to its remoteness and natural strength, were negligent on the side of the mountain, he detached, during the night of the 4th September, major Irvine, to attack that post; and before day-break, followed with the rest of his troops. By this unexpected movement, the Indians were thrown into the utmost confusion; the intrenchments were carried sword in hand, and great slaughter ensued. They aban-

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abandoned the place, and made no farther stand until they came to Mongheer, the viceroy's residence. Major Adams followed them, and on the 2d of October invested the town, which, after nine days siege, surrendered at discretion. The last strong post of Cossim now was Patna, which was well fortified, and defended by ten thousand troops within the city, with large bodies of horse in the neighbourhood, to annoy the besiegers. Cossim had about two hundred English prisoners, taken in the defeat at Patna, whom he cruelly murdered: but they were not long unrevenged. He had indeed made skilful dispositions for the defence of his city, but not sufficient to withstand English force and art, so well conducted. On the 6th of November, after a siege of eight days, major Adams took the city by storm; and thus, first of Europeans, effected the entire conquest of the kingdom of Bengal. He fought, in four months, four decisive battles, forced the strongest intrenchments, took two regularly fortified places, with great quantities of arms and stores, and subdued the ablest, most skilful, cautious, and resolute enemy which Britain had yet encountered in India.

Cossim expelled from Bengal, takes refuge in the vicinity of Oude.

DRIVEN from his own territories, Cossim sought refuge with Sujah Dowla[k], nabob of Oude, in the north-west vicinity of Bengal, and hereditary vizier to the great mogul. The subah of Oude afforded an asylum to Cossim's person, but would not admit the remains of his army. Being unwilling rashly to embroil himself with so formidable a power, he declared that he wished peace to continue between Oude and the English. Notwithstanding these professions, however, Sujah Dowla saw the advances of such neighbours with a jealous eye. A negociation was set on foot between him and Shah Allum, for uniting to restore Cossim. Encouraged by the assistance of these powers, Cossim drew together a considerable force; and meanwhile

Sujah Dowla.

War between the English and Sujah Dowla.

[k] This prince, from the similarity of names, is often confounded with Surajah Dowla, the viceroy of Bengal, who was displaced by colonel Clive.

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1766. Restoration of Jaffier.

the council of Calcutta issued a proclamation for restoring Jaffier. Major Adams being now dead, was succeeded by major Hector Monro; and the new commander, with great spirit, activity, and military skill, marched against the Indian confederates in 1764. His whole army consisted of fifteen hundred Europeans, and seven thousand five hundred native troops. It was the 22d of October before he could come up with the enemy, who were posted at a place called Buxard, on the confines of Bahar and Oude. The major perceiving their situation to be very strong, deferred an attack until he had explored their force on every side, keeping himself prepared, however, lest they should anticipate his intentions. His precaution was not unnecessary: the following day the Indians advanced to his camp, and, after a contest of three hours, were completely defeated. The major attacked Chandageer, a fort about fifty miles farther up the country, and being repulsed, found it expedient to raise the siege. Dowla soon afterwards collected his scattered and defeated troops. Major Monro was at this time recalled home, and major Carnac appointed his successor; but before he arrived, sir Robert Fletcher, second in command, wishing to signalize himself, attacked and routed Dowla's army, and stormed the fort of Chandageer on the 14th of January 1765. Sir Robert proceeded to Eliabad, a large city on the Ganges, and the enemy's capital, which he soon reduced. In this state major Carnac found affairs on his arrival in April, when he took the supreme command. Sujah Dowla was now abandoned by the mogul; who observing the signal successes of the English, made overtures for a treaty. Dowla, a man of courage, resolution, and policy, did not yield to despair; he collected his scattered troops, and also interested the Mahrattas in his favour. These tribes, inhabiting the mountains of India, more active and warlike than

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their neighbours on the plains, entered Oude. Terrible to the other Indians, the Mahrattas were of little efficacy when opposed to the valour and discipline of English soldiers. On the 20th of May, Carnac attacked the Indians at a place called Calpi, and gained a decisive victory. Sujah Dowla now surrendered at discretion to the English commander.

Dowla surrenders at discretion.

Death of Jaffier.

JAFFIER ALLY KAWN, having returned to Moorshedabad as subah of Bengal, died in the beginning of February 1765. He was a weak and cruel tyrant; and in his promotion, depression, and restoration, the mere tool of the English council. A short time before his death, he nominated his second son, Nazim Ill Dowla, then about eighteen years of age, his successor, in preference to Miram, the heir of his deceased eldest son. Knowing the moderate talents and character of the youth, the council supported him in the succession, previously stipulating the terms of their protection. His father had been obliged by treaty to maintain an army of twelve thousand horse, and as many foot; but, as the military establishment had not been kept up according to the terms of the agreement, the company abandoned them entirely, and took on themselves the care of defending the prince against all his enemies; as a recompence for which spontaneous protection, he was to pay seventy lacks of rupees[1] annually. Having made this provision for his security, they did not lose sight of his instruction and internal accommodation. The father's chief favourite had been Nunducomar, his prime minister, who held the same place in the esteem of the son. This officer, a man of considerable ability, was discovered to have strongly urged the subah to shake off his dependence on the company, and was suspected of carrying on a correspondence with Sujah Dowla. The company insisted that this minister should be

[1] About 875,000*l*.

dismissed,

dismissed, and that another person, to be appointed by them, should act in the double capacity of minister and tutor. The young prince objected strongly to these regulations, and contended earnestly for having the appointment of his own servants. This was a licence, however, which the council thought it by no means fitting to grant, and he was obliged to sign the agreement according to their dictation. The contract so formed was said to be the most advantageous for the English that had ever been concluded with an Indian power. Nunducomar was summoned to Calcutta, to stand his trial for treason, and underwent an examination by a select committee; to whom he advanced such convincing arguments in favour of his innocence, that he was allowed to depart untried.

Lord Clive returns to India.

THE company, informed of the wars that had broken out in India, sent over lord Clive, with powers to act as commander in chief, president, and governor of Bengal. His lordship arrived at Calcutta, on the 3d of May 1765. The business to be performed was intricate; the persons with whom he would be obliged to contend, were able, active, powerful, and habituated to the highest exertions of authority; it was therefore expedient to send a personage of the highest name in British India. Lord Clive discovered that the acceptance of presents was become extremely prevalent among the company's servants: this mode of opening business had obtained time out of mind in the east, and was found not disagreeable to its visitors from the west. A select committee was formed, with lord Clive at its head, for scrutinizing the gifts; but the investigation was by no means pleasing, either to the council, or to many of the principal officers. It was alleged on one side, that luxury, corruption, and extreme avidity for making immense fortunes in a little time, had so totally infected the company's servants, that nothing less than a general reform,

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and an effectual eradication of those vices, could preserve the settlements from certain and immediate destruction. Fortunes, lord Clive said, of 100,000*l.* had been obtained within two years; and individuals, very young in the service, were returning home with a million and a half. It was answered, that the gentlemen in question had done the greatest services to the country; that its present happy situation was owing to their efforts; that the presents were conformable to the custom of India, and not being accepted till after the negociation was concluded, had no influence on the terms; that the salaries allowed by the company were so small as to be no inducement to men of talents to run the risk of their lives in so remote a situation, without other advantages; and finally, that those who objected to the presents, had made their own fortunes by the same means. Regardless of these remonstrances, and of all personal allusions, lord Clive framed regulations calculated to restrain the rapacity of the company's servants.

HAVING adopted this measure for the civil government of the province, he joined the army at Eliabad, to conclude the peace with Sujah Dowla. On his arrival, he found that the success of the English arms in that quarter promised nothing but future wars; that to ruin Oude, would break down the barriers between the Mahrattas and Bengal; and that therefore it was prudent to leave to Dowla considerable power. Accordingly, peace was concluded with that prince; and the nabob agreed to pay fifty lacks of rupees to the company, as an indemnification for the expences of the war. A treaty with the mogul was also concluded on the 11th of August 1765, by which the company were appointed perpetual collectors of the revenues for Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa; for which privilege they were to pay twenty-six lacks of rupees annually. The revenue accruing to the company by this treaty, after

English obtain the collection of the revenue.

after all deductions, amounted to 1,700,000*l.* a year; and lord Clive, having established peace on such profitable terms, made several judicious regulations for securing and improving it to the greatest advantage.

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Spirit of English transactions in India.

THUS have we seen a mercantile company in less than ten years acquire, by war and policy, more extensive possessions, and a richer revenue, than those of several European monarchs. This was an epoch in the history of conquest. Nations of merchants had before conquered very extensive dominions, but this was a mere corporate body of private subjects. The principles on which the servants of this company of merchants proceeded, were formed in a great degree by the habits and conditions of the masters. The leading object was gain; ambition was only secondary and instrumental; power and dominion were esteemed merely as the means of profit. Where the Romans carried their arms, they sought warlike glory, victory, and the splendour of triumph, as well as the gains of plunder; they took their superstition with them; and from the conquered countries made additions to their gods, as well as to their treasury. The Spaniards, the creatures of gloomy bigotry, carried to Mexico their zeal for making converts, as well as for acquiring silver and gold. These and many other victors were actuated by various passions; but the British conquerors in India directed their pursuits to one object exclusively, the acquisition of money. They considered, in every transaction of war, peace, or alliance, what money could be drawn from the inhabitants. In their modes of exaction from the feeble natives, they observed the systematic regularity of commercial habits; they made bargains; and for the money received, stipulated value delivered. They pillaged, not with the ferocity of soldiers, but with the cool exactness of debtor and creditor. Instead of saying to the sovereign of Hindostan,

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Hindostan, "You have a very rich territory and we must have a great part of the product," (which might have appeared the language of robbers,) they adopted a mercantile mode: "We shall collect your revenue for you, reserving to ourselves only eighty per cent. for factorage:" this was the spirit of their agreements. Before they planned aggression, they calculated the probable proceeds, the debts that they might extinguish, and the addition, on the balance of accounts, which they might make to the sum total. They considered war with the natives merely as a commercial adventure: by so much risk encountered, a certain quantity of blood spilt, and a certain extent of territory desolated, great sums were to be gained. In all their intercourse, however, with the natives, in the plans which they devised, and the efforts which they employed for the accumulation of wealth, they manifested the immense superiority of the British character, with a rapidity of success, that brought an unprecedented influx of opulence to this country, and effected a considerable change in the sentiments, habits, and pursuits of Englishmen.

THE sufferings of Hindostan attached no blame to the nation; they merely demonstrated, that a copartnery of trading-subjects is not fit to exercise sovereignty. Even if their schemes of policy were wise and equitable, they did not possess a sufficient control over their servants, to insure the execution. To supply this deficiency, was afterwards the work of legislative wisdom.

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Mr. Pitt receives unlimited powers to form an administration —differs with earl Temple concerning the appointments.— Temple refuses any office.—Duke of Grafton first lord of the treasury.—Charles Townshend, chancellor of the exchequer.—Pitt, lord privy seal, and created earl of Chatham.—King of Denmark marries princess Matilda of England.—State of Parties.—High price of provisions— order of council to prevent exportation and engrossing.— Proclamation discussed in parliament.—Lord Mansfield proposes an act of indemnity, as an acknowledgment of its illegality—resisted by ministers.—Parliament inquires into the affairs of the India company—rescinds the proposed increase of dividends—an opinion started that the territorial possessions belong to the crown, alarms the company.—Mr. Townshend opposes the prime minister on a question of land-tax.—Mr. Townshend's new scheme for raising a revenue from America.—Session rises.—Affairs on the continent—France—Germany—Prussia—Russia —Poland.—Suppression of the Jesuits in Spain.—Death of the duke of York—of Charles Townshend.—Earl Chatham by ill health prevented from taking an active share in public affairs.—Weakness and distraction of ministry.— Short meeting of parliament—dissolution.—Review of Irish affairs.

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MR. PITT projected an administration that should include men of all parties. He proposed lord Temple to be first commissioner of the treasury; but that nobleman, being now politically connected with his brother, wished for a greater share of power to the Grenville supporters than Mr. Pitt thought expedient; and, as they could not agree on the terms of the other appointments, his lordship would not accept of the proffered office. At length the duke of Grafton, who had been secretary of state in the marquis of Rockingham's administration, was made

Grafton administration.

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made first lord of the treasury, and general Conway, another member of the whig party, was continued secretary of state; his colleague was the earl of Shelburne, a nobleman of considerable abilities, possessing a great extent of literary and political information, a warm admirer and zealous supporter of Mr. Pitt, and an adopter of his opinion, that neither whig confederacies nor court cabals, but talents assisted by public opinion, at once participating and directing its energies, ought to govern this country; and that appointments of trust in the various departments of the state should be conferred according to the appropriate fitness of the person to be nominated. Mr. Charles Townshend, recently a member of the Grenville party, was appointed chancellor of the exchequer; lord chief justice Pratt, created lord Camden, was made chancellor; his predecessor, the earl of Northington, became president of the council; and Mr. Pitt himself took the privy seal.

Mr. Pitt created earl of Chatham.

He was now called to the upper house, under the title of the earl of Chatham; but his acceptance of a peerage lessened the popularity of this illustrious statesman. If the case be impartially considered, the first man of his age and country accepting high rank, affords no ground for censure. On the verge of sixty, and oppressed with bodily infirmity, he had become less fit than formerly for the vehement and contentious eloquence of the house of commons. His wisdom and patriotism might operate in the upper as well as in the lower house; and the office which he held in administration had no connexion with one house more than with the other. There is nothing inconsistent with true greatness, in desiring to found a family; and the peerage can never receive more honourable accessions, than from those who have exerted distinguished ability in performing eminent services.

During this year, the distresses from the high price of provisions continued to increase, and excited

cited commotions and riots. The populace, thinking that certain dealers were engrossing and using other illegal means to enhance the price of provisions, took upon themselves to regulate the markets and punish alleged delinquents, and proceeded to flagrant violence, which proved fatal to several lives. Special commissions were appointed to try the offenders, of whom the ringleaders were capitally condemned; but most of them were afterwards reprieved and pardoned. On the 11th of September, a proclamation was issued for enforcing the law against forestallers, regraters, and engrossers of corn. By not a few it was apprehended that this denunciation would do more harm than good, as it presumed the scarcity to be artificial, which actually arose from real want. As the price of wheat continued to increase, another proclamation was issued on the 26th, prohibiting the exportation of grain, and an embargo was laid on all outward-bound ships laden with corn.

THE opponents of the present ministry consisted of two parties, the Grenville and the Rockingham. A coalition was attempted between the former and the ministry, but without effect. Meanwhile Charles Townshend was intriguing with the Rockingham party, and trying to effect the removal of the duke of Grafton; and, though he did not succeed, the administration was evidently discordant. Lord Chatham, on account of the bad state of his health, could not control as formerly the jarring elements.

Marriage of the princess Matilda to the king of Denmark.

THIS summer there happened an event which was very interesting to the royal family. The princess Matilda, posthumous daughter to the prince of Wales, and sister to his majesty, in the sixteenth year of her age, was married to her cousin the king of Denmark. This treaty was expected to strengthen the connexion between the two countries, and in that view was deemed politically advantageous to both; and, to Denmark it brought pecuniary emolument,

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lument, as a portion of 100,000*l.* was bestowed on her highness. Frederic William, the king's youngest brother, was now dead, and the income which had been enjoyed by William duke of Cumberland, amounting to 45,000*l.* a year, was divided between his majesty's surviving brothers; the youngest of whom, Henry Frederic, was created duke of Cumberland.

In the course of this year, the Chevalier de St. George, pretender to the crown of Britain, died in the seventy-eighth year of his age, leaving two sons, Charles, who headed the rebellion in 1745, and the second a Romish cardinal.

Meeting of parliament.

On the 11th of November parliament met, and the principal subject of his majesty's speech was the high price of provisions, with the measures which he had embraced, the disturbances which had arisen, and the orders that had been issued. The proclamation laying an embargo upon corn, occasioned a discussion of the prerogatives of the crown, and was represented as an assumption by the council of a power to dispense with the laws, a practice which was effectually precluded by the revolution. The measure was allowed to be expedient, and even necessary; but, to prevent its establishment as a precedent, it was suggested that an act of indemnity should be passed to protect from punishment the framers and executors of an illegal order. A bill to that effect was accordingly proposed, which caused warm debates, especially in the house of peers. Lords Chatham and Camden contended, that a dispensing power in cases of state-necessity was an inherent prerogative in the crown: a power to provide for the public safety in cases of emergency, must be lodged somewhere: by our constitution it was lodged in the king, only to be exerted under great necessity occurring during the recess of parliament, and to last only until parliament could be assembled. It was answered, that necessity was the principle

principle by which all the evil practices of the Stuarts were justified. The exception of necessity had been proposed as a clause to the petition of rights; the lords had agreed to it; but on a conference with the commons, it had been rejected. If a necessity, of which the executive government is to judge, be admitted as a reason for deviating from the established law, the laws and liberties of the people may depend on the discretion of the crown. The proposed mode of a bill of indemnity asserts the general constitutional law, while it excuses the deviation, after parliament has on an inquiry discovered that the alleged necessity did exist. These arguments were chiefly supported by lord Mansfield, and were evidently more agreeable to the precision with which prerogative is defined by the British constitution than the opposite reasonings; and lords Chatham and Camden were charged with deserting their former principles. The two patriots indeed appear to have been carried by the heat of debate into speculative error; but the general tenor of their respective conduct through the whole of their political history, affords the best proof that they intended no violation of British liberty.

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Indian affairs considered in parliament.

THE late immense acquisitions in India rendered that country, and the company's affairs, objects of the highest importance to lawgivers and statesmen; and this year, for the first time, oriental concerns occupied the chief time and attention of parliament, but not till they had undergone a contentious discussion in the East India house.

WHEN the late acquisitions that accrued from the peace and treaties of lord Clive were known in England, it was generally expected, that, as the possessions had so much increased in value, there would be a proportionate rise in the dividends; thence India stock, in July 1766, had risen from a hundred and eighty-eight to two hundred and thirty-one. The Dutch company had, in April, declared a divi-

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dend of twenty per cent.; and their possessions and revenues, it was contended, were far surpassed by the English. Our India company, therefore, (the proprietors asserted) could afford a much greater dividend than six per cent. On this ground they urged the directors to declare an increase, but were answered, that though many advantages had been acquired, great debts had also been incurred; and that, both in justice and prudence, the payment of debts ought to precede the division of profits. If we make a great increase in our dividends, (said they,) we may give an ideal value to stock, which, as it cannot be supported, will, like the south-sea bubble, burst upon our heads. But not convinced by this reasoning, the proprietors charged the directors with an intention of limiting dividends, to increase their own riches. On the 24th of September, at a general quarterly court of the proprietors, it was proposed, contrary to the opinion of most of the directors, that the yearly dividend should be increased from six to ten per cent. Two days after, the question was put by ballot, and carried in the affirmative, 340 against 231. Government at that time sent a message to the directors, informing them, that parliament was to examine the state of Indian affairs, and directing them to have their papers ready for inspection.

On the 25th of November, a committee was appointed to inspect the state of the company's affairs, commercial and territorial. Orders were given, that every account, letter, treaty, or document of any kind, should be laid before the committee. The court of directors presented a petition, setting forth the great injury that it would be to the company, and the many ill consequences which would probably attend the publication of the private correspondence between them and their servants: and after a considerable debate, it was agreed that the private correspondence should not be printed. The statements

statements before parliament, however, were so important, as to introduce questions much more comprehensive than any hitherto discussed by the legislature concerning British India. Having viewed and examined the management of the commercial and territorial possessions, several members, and among them lord Chatham, denied the right of the company to have territorial possessions, as such were not conveyed by their charters, and were totally foreign to the nature and object of a trading corporation. Even if it were legally just and politically expedient, that an associated body of merchants should be sovereigns of those extensive dominions, the great expence of government in the protection of that company entitled it to the revenues, for the purpose of indemnification.

The supporters of the opposite opinion denied that the charter restricted its holders from acquiring territory; and contended, that if government had a right to the late acquisitions in India, it ought to submit its claims to a court of law. Towards the end of the session, the company proposed a convention with government concerning the disputed dominions; that an agreement should be made between government and that body, concerning the territorial acquisitions; and, after various overtures, the following terms were accepted, presented to parliament, and passed into a law on the 24th of June; being intitled, "A bill for establishing an agreement between government and the East India company." By this stipulation, the chartered corporation engaged to pay to government 400,000*l.* yearly for two years, by half-yearly payments; during which time the territory and revenues lately obtained were to continue in the hands of the present possessors; but if they were deprived of any of them by a foreign power, a proportional abatement was to be made in the annual payments; and money wrongfully paid was to be refunded. Meanwhile the company

Agreement between government and the company.

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pany held a general court on the 6th of May, in which the half-yearly dividend from midsummer to christmas was declared to be $6\frac{1}{4}$, being one-fourth beyond that of the preceding half-year. Ministry had sent a message, advising the company not to increase their dividend until their affairs were farther examined; but, finding that the recommendation had not produced the desired effect, the duke of Grafton proposed a bill to prevent them from raising their dividends before the meeting of the next session of parliament. The object avowed by his grace and the supporters of the bill, was to prevent such augmentations as might raise the imaginary value of the stock far beyond its real, so as to introduce stock-jobbing speculations, which had been so fatal in a former reign; that, besides, government was interested in preventing such increase of dividend as might diminish the value of the territorial revenue; to which the claims of the state, though postponed, had not been relinquished: moreover, the rapid rise in India stock would diminish the price of the other funds. The opposers of the bill contended, that the circumstances of the company fully justified the proposed addition, and that means could easily have been employed to prevent any farther rise; that a legislative interposition for controlling the dividend of a trading company, legally made by those in whom the power was by law vested, and when no abuse was alleged, was an *ex post facto* law, that infringed the rights of property; and by tending to lessen the security and freedom from the control of government, which made the British funds so much the repositories of continental money, it might affect the national credit. The rescinding bill passed into a law after a very powerful opposition, in which two of the ministers, general Conway and Mr. Townshend, joined: in the house of lords a strong protest was made by the united force of the Grenville and Rockingham parties.

Bill for restricting the India dividends

passed into a law.

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In another motion the prime minister was entirely defeated. It had been uniformly the practice, at former periods of peace, to reduce the land-tax from four to three shillings in the pound; but since the peace of 1763, the state of the public finances was not thought to admit of this reduction, and accordingly it had not been proposed by either of the successive administrations. This year, when the chancellor of the exchequer moved the annual bill, there was a strong opposition; and it was carried against ministry, that the tax should be no more than three shillings. Mr. Townshend was on this occasion accused of not being sincere and earnest in his professed exertions: there was evidently in his character a great degree of instability; but whether his fluctuations arose chiefly from an understanding more brilliant than solid, or from some other cause, the time during which he acted a conspicuous part on the political stage was too short to ascertain. Fertile in devising expedients, rather than wise in choosing the most beneficial ends, Mr. Townshend this session proposed a scheme for raising a revenue from America, which he conceived would be productive, without being objectionable on the same ground as the stamp-act. The reader will recollect the alleged difference between external and internal taxation: hastily assuming this principle, Mr. Townshend, with the ardour of inconsiderate ingenuity, deduced from it a theory, and projected a plan to which his specious and brilliant eloquence gave a great appearance of plausibility. He proposed a bill for imposing certain duties on glass, paper, paste-board, white and red lead, painters' colours, and tea, payable on the importation of these articles into the American colonies; which duties, when collected, were applied to making provision for the administration of justice, and the support of civil government, in the colonies in which it should be necessary; and the residue was to be paid into the exchequer

New imposts on America.

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chequer in England. The bill was passed into a law; and, as might easily have been foreseen, was regarded by the Americans as a mere variation of mode, and not a change from the principle that had produced the stamp-act: its effects, however, shall be hereafter mentioned.

THE conduct of New York underwent severe animadversion in this session of parliament. A new regulation had been made in the preceding session, concerning the quartering of troops in America, and the additional articles of salt, vinegar, beer, or cyder, were required to be furnished by the colonists. The governor of New York communicated this change to the assembly; and the next day some forces, who happened to arrive in the city, found it necessary to apply to them for the accommodation provided by the new law, particularly specifying their requisite articles. The assembly postponed the consideration of the message, and meanwhile furnished the troops with such necessaries as they had before been accustomed to afford, but did not supply the new requisitions. After various messages and addresses, the assembly positively refused, alleging that the principle was exactly the same as of the stamp-act, since it taxed them without their own consent. This refusal being represented to parliament, a bill was passed, by which the governor, council and assembly, were prohibited from passing or assenting to any act of assembly, for any purpose whatsoever, till they had in every respect complied with all the terms of this act of parliament. Unfortunately for the nation, the earl of Chatham, from his ill state of health, could at that time rarely attend either the council or senate: had he possessed his wonted vigour, he might successfully have reprobated such temporizing and trifling measures as merely tended to irritate without being efficient. If America afforded, through our manufactures and trade, a very great revenue, as could be and was

proved, it was a puerile policy to hazard its productiveness, rather than let glass and paste-board be duty-free, and pay for our soldiers the cost of their salt, vinegar, and small-beer. There was a littleness in a considerable part of our proceedings respecting America, as inconsistent with the dignity of a powerful, as with the policy of a wise nation. This long and important session closed on the 2d of July 1767. CHAP. VI. 1767.

Affairs of the continent.

WHILE so many internal and colonial objects engaged the attention of Britain, she had no reason to apprehend any disturbance of the peace from foreign countries. The French court, soon after the peace, had been occupied in disputes with the provincial parliaments, in which bodies a spirit of resistance began to manifest itself of a different cast and character from any displayed since the time of Henry IV. The parliament of Brittany having rendered itself peculiarly disagreeable to the monarch, was dissolved, and all its decrees were annulled. The other assemblies shewed a disposition to combination and remonstrance; the parliament of Rouen reminded the king of his coronation oath, and intimated, that there was a compact between him and his people; they also made decrees in favour of the parliament of Brittany. The king answered, "The oath which I have taken is not to the nation, as you presume to say, but to God alone." The several parliaments immediately began to question the royal doctrine and theory, and evinced themselves not disinclined to dispute it in practice; but strong measures repressed their boldness, and in the year 1767 they were tolerably quiet. If Louis XV. had been so fortunate as to have had for his directors wise, upright, and intrepid advisers, he might even then have been taught to perceive a change in the public sentiment. To meet with safety the new doctrines, would have rendered moderation in the exercise of his power expedient. However imprudently the

Disputes between the king and parliament of France.

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court might be employed in its proceedings with parliament, in other respects it exerted itself wisely for the encouragement of manufactures, commerce, naval force, and revenue. Agriculture had, by the partial system of Colbert[a], been very much neglected as a subject of political economy; a new set of philosophical economists inculcated its exclusive cultivation, as the sole physical means of prosperity. Extravagant and visionary as they were in their theories, yet the novelty of them made a great impression upon the French, and was to a certain extent useful in making agriculture a much more fashionable and popular pursuit than it had formerly been. France, thus occupied with the schemes of internal improvement, appeared to have no disposition to quarrel with her neighbours; she was more closely than ever connected with Spain, which from a variety of causes was no less disposed to peace, and her alliance continued unbroken and uninterrupted with the court of Vienna.

Germany. Joseph becomes emperor.

THE emperor Francis was now dead, and succeeded by his eldest son Joseph on the Imperial throne; while Leopold, his second son, filled the place of Joseph as grand duke of Tuscany. The young emperor regarded the king of Prussia with the greatest veneration; and, soon after his accession to the throne, he privately gave Frederic to understand, that he wished every subject of future dispute to be at an end, and desired to cultivate the strictest friendship with his majesty; but he intimated, that it would be necessary to conceal some of his intentions from his mother, who still retained the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria.—The empress dowager found full employment in recovering from the disasters of the war.

Intended improvement of Prussia.

THE king of Prussia, in his political economy, displayed a genius that insured success in every thing which he chose to pursue. Aware that wealth is the

[a] See Smith's Wealth of Nations, vol. iii. p. 4.

result

result of productive industry, he was far from imagining those trades always the best which produce the greatest quantity of money. He considered chiefly the physical and moral effects of the work done, upon the workman. He thought that the labour which invigorated the body and emboldened the mind, was more productive of the real constituents of national prosperity, than labour which enervated and relaxed the operator, though the latter might be the more lucrative. "He perceived (says his philosophical biographer) that great differences obtained in populousness and prosperity, according to the various employments of agriculture and manufactures; that even in agriculture, greater exertions and purer manners might be expected from men who cultivate corn, than from those who rear the vine; and that in manufactures, the hardy workmen in wood and metal supplied very different citizens, and very different soldiers, from those furnished by the mechanical operations of sedentary drudgery.[b] In the modern systems of political economy, the short-sightedness of avarice regards nothing but the labour effected; and whether it be effected by machines, or by men little better than machines, appears a matter of small moment. But Frederic, having provided amply for the subsistence and defence of his subjects, thought that he had yet done nothing for their happiness until he had improved their physical and moral state, procured them rational enjoyments, trained them to virtuous habits, and directed them to useful and honourable pursuits: he imitated the neighbouring nations in the institutions in which they respectively excelled; his plans of rural economy he formed chiefly on the model of England; and in dividing unappropriated lands, he adopted the mode of the British parliament. Peace at this time was his main object, although by his financial and military economy he was well prepared for war.

[b] Gillies's Frederick, p. 380.

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THE character of the empress of Russia was now developing itself, and she became conspicuous for the force and solidity of her genius, the extent of her capacity, the greatness of her views, and the adaptation of her measures to the circumstances in which she was placed. Sovereign of an immense empire, she comprehended the state of her dominions; she saw its resources and susceptibility of improvement; and, great as its strength was, how much was wanting to make Russia what it might become. The substantial amelioration of her country and people, was the object to which she evidently directed her principal attention. She accurately studied the materials with which she had to work, discriminated the state in which she found the people, accommodated herself to their notions, won their affections and veneration, and by her conduct was as absolute in authority as in power. Dissipated as she might be in her private life, she did not suffer pleasure to interfere with the performances of her imperial duties. Wishing to promote in her country, commerce, navigation, and all the useful arts, she sought a close correspondence with the most commercial and enlightened nations; with Britain she concluded a commercial treaty[c], in principle and detail very beneficial to both nations. Desirous also of introducing the elegant arts and erudition at her court, she invited thither eminent artists, and scholars, and established literary institutions for the advancement of knowledge and science. Although from the time of czar Peter the great, considerable advances had been made in the internal improvement of Russia, yet that ought to have been much more exclusively the object of her princes and government than it actually had been. Extension of territory was by no means wanting, for her dominions were enormous already. Consummate wisdom would have withheld Catharine from projects of foreign conquest; but that a bold,

[c] See this volume, p. 364.

aspiring

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aspiring princess, with such power, should not project an increase of her territories, was rather to be wished from the highest practical exercise of political philosophy, than to be expected from sovereign ambition, possessing so fully the means of gratification. We have already seen her interference in foreign affairs in the management of Poland; but disturbances were there arising, which soon brought her farther into action, and more openly manifested her encroaching character.

Southern Europe. Expulsion of the Jesuits.

In the south of Europe an event took place this year, of the greatest importance to domestic, civil, religious, and political society; the expulsion of the jesuits from Spain, the country whose superstition had rendered it so much subject to that extraordinary order. The great, energetic, versatile, and skilfully-directed ability of that singular fraternity, had extended their authority and power very widely in all Roman catholic countries. Their talents for calling forth abilities, their great skill in every species of political intrigue, and their dexterity in every kind of business, spread their influence among many others beside the gloomy votaries of depressing superstition. Their authority had long been very great amidst the gay splendor of the French court, as well as in the sequestered retirements of Spanish cloisters. But their most incontrollable power was in South America; where it must be admitted, by their efforts among the natives, they contributed very effectually to the civilization and industry of those tribes, though they bore a sway dangerous to any state in the heart of its dominions. The authority acquired by the jesuits in the course of two centuries was so exorbitant, that monarchs began to regard them with a very jealous eye. They saw that they really did much incidental good, and were extremely subservient; but that they were acquiring the means of becoming imperious. As in France there was more of united genius and energy than in any other popish country,

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country, there first Romish fraternities were attacked. Louis XIV. had from parade and ostentation cherished literary efforts, though in his time they were chiefly confined to subjects of taste, sentiment, and physical research, without extending to theological and political philosophy. Once set in motion, however, genius would not limit itself to prescribed operations. The very enormous extent to which superstition had carried the influence of the church, attracted sagacious speculatists, who proposed to inquire how far the various privileges claimed, doctrines inculcated, and observances enjoined, by the clergy, were consistent with natural religion, truth, and reason; how far the lives, sentiments, and opinions of churchmen were agreeable to the dictates of virtue and common sense; and how far their system of faith and practice was conducive to the public welfare. They easily discerned that in the doctrines, institutions, and practices of the Roman catholic church, there were parts totally incompatible with reason, morality, and enlightened policy; but, in the volatile violence of Frenchmen, they carried their animadversions infinitely farther than truth admitted. Confounding religion itself with its abuses, they charged against christianity the errors and mischiefs of popish corruptions; imputing to our Saviour and his apostles, the consequences of the ignorant, superstitious, and usurping institutions of popes and cardinals. Deism, and infidelity of all kinds, became very fashionable in France; and in a prevailing dislike of religious establishments, it was not to be expected that the jesuits should escape; as, beside the imputations common to other monastic orders, there were such strong objections attaching peculiarly to themselves; their principles, their activity, their enterprise, their corporate ambition, and, above all, their casuistical morality, leaving a wide field open for palliating every crime. That enmity to the jesuitical order, which virtue justified, if arising from a

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sense

sense of the hurtful arts, and policy required, was in fact owing in a great degree to infidelity. But other causes co-operated: the order of jansenists had become very successful, and had acquired great influence; the jesuits were known to be extremely rich, and the public treasures were very much exhausted. Ideas were long entertained, for these various reasons, of suppressing this order; and, in October 1763, they were actually crushed in France and all the French territories. The following year they were suppressed in Portugal and all its dependencies; in Spain they had been suffered to exist some years longer: but the influence of French counsels at the court of Madrid, the example of his neighbours, jealousy of their power, and avidity for their riches, determined Charles to extinguish that order through all his dominions. Accordingly it was in January 1767 ordained that the jesuits should be expelled, and their whole property seized for the king's use. The jesuits, notwithstanding their sagacity and extraordinary intelligence, had not the least idea that any such scheme was in agitation; and, during the months of February and March, they went on with the usual zeal and ardour in their ordinary occupations, totally unsuspicious of the impending blow that was to crush them for ever, where their power had been strongest.

On the 31st of March, about midnight, the six houses of the jesuits in Madrid were surrounded at the same time by detachments of military, who opened the outer doors, secured the bells, and placed a sentinel before each cell. These precautions being taken, the brothers were ordered to rise; and when assembled, being informed of his majesty's commands, they assisted in packing up a few moveables necessary for their journey. Meanwhile a sufficient number of coaches, chaises, and waggons were secured, and without loss of time they were conveyed under a strong guard towards Carthagena. This revolution

was

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was conducted with such order and silence, that the inhabitants of Madrid knew nothing of what had taken place till they were informed of it in the morning: three days after, the expulsion and confiscation were carried into execution in every part of Spain, and in the month of July in Mexico and Peru. The confiscated estates and effects of the jesuits in Europe and the Indies amounted to above thirty millions sterling: and thus did a government, at one sweep, deprive a corporation of its subjects, and of an immense property, without any proof of guilt. However just the political reasons for suppressing the order might be, the rapacious seizure of their property was inconsistent with every principle of justice, and could not have taken place under any equitable system of polity. In Naples, and other catholic countries, the jesuits were suppressed with similar circumstances of tyranny.

Death of the duke of York,

In the course of this year the royal family of England received a very afflicting blow in the sudden death of the duke of York, eldest brother of the king. His highness had been travelling through France, Germany, and Italy; and at Monaco was seized with a putrid fever, which terminated fatally on the 7th of September. He belonged to the navy, and had served during the war; he was esteemed a prince of good accomplishments, amiable disposition, and affable manners, and was beloved by those who had had the chief access to his confidence and intimacy. He died in the 29th year of his age, and his remains were brought home and interred in Westminster-abbey. About the same time, died a gentleman who was rising fast into the first political eminence, the honourable Charles Townshend, chancellor of the exchequer. Lord Chatham's infirmities had for some time almost entirely prevented him from taking any efficient share in administration; during his lordship's inaction, Mr. Townshend, with shining and versatile talents, was the most active member

and of Charles Townshend.

member of the ministry, and was taking a lead in the management of affairs. He was a personage of very considerable abilities; prompt, brilliant, witty, and eloquent; not, indeed, very select, either in the measures which he proposed, or the arguments that he employed, but extremely happy in the art of giving the best colour to the sentiments and opinions which he happened to adopt. Although a man of genius, he appears to have been rather more fit for literary than political attainments, or much more anxious about the currency of opinions than their weight; he was extremely inconstant. When the stamp-act was popular in the house, he declaimed in its favour; when it lost its popularity, he voted for the repeal; and when the repeal was afterwards a subject of complaint, he proposed a new plan for raising a revenue. He took no time to form general and comprehensive views, and had no fixed principles of policy. As an orator, he was an ornament to the house of commons; but must have entirely changed his modes and habits, before he could be a very advantageous accession to the councils of his country as a principal statesman.

Weakness of administration.

MINISTRY was now weak and distracted: various plans of coalition and comprehension, to give it strength, were proposed; but the negociations were unsuccessful. Several partial changes were made, in which the offices were filled by noblemen and gentlemen connected with the house of Bedford. Lord Weymouth was appointed secretary of state in the place of general Conway, who had been advanced in his professional line. A new office, of secretary of state for the colonies, was created, and bestowed on lord Hillsborough. The earl of Northington, loaded with years, retired from his place of president of the council, and was succeeded by earl Gower. Beside these promotions of the friends of the Russel family, Frederic lord North, eldest son of the earl of Guilford, was made chancellor of the exchequer.

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exchequer. The venerable earl of Chatham had been consulted previous to the proposed alterations, and had declared that the state of his health rendered his interference impracticable. He, indeed, had no share in the appointments, and from this time cannot be considered as making one of the Grafton ministry, responsible for any of its acts.—The scarcity of corn continued; and from the distresses of the poor, great riots took place in the manufacturing towns.

On the 24th of November parliament met. Nothing from abroad (his majesty said) appeared likely to disturb the public tranquillity, or to divert their attention from the internal affairs of the kingdom. The sole object specifically recommended to their notice was, the scarcity and dearth of corn. Interference in the price of provisions on the part of government, is extremely delicate and difficult; nor can the legislature easily adopt any effectual mode for that purpose, except by the encouragement of importation in times of exigency, and the promotion of agriculture to prevent their recurrence. Parliament renewed the regulations of the former year, adding to them a bill for importing wheat and flour from Africa; and an act, similar to the law of the preceding session, was passed for limiting the dividends of the East India Company.

The most important measure discussed in this session of parliament was, a law proposed by opposition for limiting the period of resuming crown-grants, to sixty years. This bill originated in a transaction affecting two private individuals. William III. had made a grant to the first earl of Portland, of the honour of Penrith in the county of Cumberland, with the appurtenances thereunto belonging. The forest of Inglewood, and the manor and castle of Carlisle, were considered as parts of this grant, and had been accordingly enjoyed by the family by the same tenure and in the same quiet possession

possession as the rest. These last tenements, however, were not specified in the grant; and sir James Lowther, being accurately informed of this circumstance, in summer 1767 presented a memorial to the lords of the treasury, stating that he had discovered that the forest of Inglewood, and the soccage of the castle of Carlisle, had been long withheld from the crown without its receiving any benefit from them, and therefore prayed a lease of three lives. Having consulted the surveyor of crown lands, they granted the possessions in question, notwithstanding the representations of the duke of Portland. His grace now stopped progress in the exchequer office; the cause was tried before the barons of exchequer; and sir James Lowther was nonsuited. Upon this attempted resumption, the bill was founded. Opposition insisted, that the attempt was a revival of the obsolete and tyrannical law, *nullum tempus occurrit regi*, by which no length of time or possession can be a bar against the claims of the crown. The exercise of any right upon this maxim, it was shewn, was practised only by the most arbitrary princes, and even by them with caution, as they were sensible of the general abhorrence which every act of the kind excited. It was farther said, that the present grant was founded on a most unconstitutional motive, to obtain a party and undue influence in the general election; and that the avowed opposition of interests in the same country between the parties, and the particular connexions of one of them, left no room to doubt that this was the object in view. On the other side it was observed, that the tenements in question were neither specified nor understood in the grant; that they belonged to the crown, not by resumption (for there had been no alienation), but by original right; and the crown was no more to blame for taking possession of its own property, than a private person. The earl of Portland and his family had been sufficiently

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ficiently compensated for their services; and, after seventy years possession of an estate to which they had no right, they might contentedly resign it to the true owner, when there was no demand made upon them for the past issues. Ministry, after finding their arguments against limitation of resumptions not likely to be successful, changed their mode of procedure, and proposed that the bill should be postponed till the next year; and this motion was carried by a majority of twenty; but the supplies being settled, and other business finished, an end was put to the session; and, on the 10th of March, parliament was dissolved.

THE first parliament of George III. exhibits no distinguishing marks of legislative wisdom. Its chief objects were, individual prosecution and colonial regulation: respecting Wilkes, and other persons involved in his publications, the majority of its members proceeded with the passion of partisans, and not the cool policy of senators; and towards America, the conduct of this body was a succession of contradictory measures, neither effectual in coercion nor concession. They irritated, conciliated, and irritated again; and left the colonies ill-affected to the country, sowing the seeds of the American war. But, though their aggregate policy was either inefficient or hurtful, yet they contained a considerable degree of individual ability. In the latter years, mature and formed eloquence was most conspicuous in the house of peers. In the house of commons, after the death of Mr. Townshend, the ablest orators had not arrived at the perfection which they were severally destined to attain. The eloquence at that time, though brilliant, animated, and impressive, did not, either in closeness and force of reasoning, comprehensiveness of views, or political philosophy, equal the efforts of more recent periods.

Affairs of Ireland.

HAVING brought the first British parliament of his majesty to a conclusion, we must now turn our

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attention to the affairs of Ireland, which, from the commencement of the reign, were of more than usual importance, and since that time had become extremely interesting. To comprehend the passing transactions of the sister-kingdom, it is necessary to take a short retrospective survey of causes and events, which powerfully affected the state of the country and the character of the people.

THE Irish were originally sunk in barbarism, far beneath any other inhabitants of middle Europe, even in their most uncivilized ages.[d] Never conquered, nor even invaded, by the Romans, they continued still in the most savage state; and were distinguished by those vices, to which human nature is always subject, when it is neither tamed by education, nor restrained by laws. The small principalities into which they were divided, exercised perpetual rapine and violence against each other; the uncertain succession of their princes was a continual source of domestic convulsions; the usual title of each petty sovereign was the murder of his predecessor; courage and force, though exercised in the commission of crimes, were more honoured than any pacific virtues. The most simple arts of life, tillage, and agriculture, were almost wholly unknown. They had felt the invasion of the Danes, and the other northern tribes; but these inroads, which had spread barbarism into the rest of Europe, tended rather to improve the Irish; and the only towns which were to be found in the island, had been planted along the coast by the freebooters of Norway and Denmark. The other inhabitants exercised pasturage in the open country; sought protection from any danger in their forests and morasses; and being divided by the fiercest animosities against each other, were still more intent on the means of mutual injury, than on the expedients

[d] See Strabo, who describes the Irish as infinitely more savage than the Gauls, Germans, or Britons.

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of common, or even private interest. So situated and disposed, when they were conquered by Henry II., the Irish did not improve from their connexion with a less barbarous nation.

ALTHOUGH no country had been blessed with a greater proportion of able sovereigns than England, from the time of Henry II., to the reign of Henry VII.; yet no policy could be more absurd and prejudicial, than the system which had been uniformly pursued respecting Ireland. The conquerors not only took no pains to communicate to the conquered their own progressive civilization, but even prevented those advances which the latter might have themselves made. While from the close of the eleventh century, other countries were emerging from that profound ignorance in which Europe was then sunk; that unfortunate island, possessing every natural means of improvement, a climate temperate and salutary, a fertile soil, a maritime situation, numberless harbours, a people sprightly, ready in apprehension, having a fire of ingenuity that beamed through the thick fogs of their ignorance, with every physical, moral, and intellectual capability of improvement, they, from political debasement, were in a condition of stationary savageness. Such men, strangers to arts and industry, were naturally prone to disorder and insurrection. To quell revolt, and prevents its recurrence, Henry VII. proposed the extension of English jurisprudence to the appendant island. Poyning, lord deputy to the king, procured the enactment of that memorable statute, which bears his name, by which all the former laws should be of force in Ireland, and that no bill could be introduced into the Irish parliament, unless it had previously received the sanction of the council of England. The purpose of this ordinance was evidently much more to insure dominion than to impart civilization; and though the communication of English laws might ultimately tend to infuse a portion

tion of English arts, manners, and industry, yet its direct and immediate tendency was to trench upon Irish independence; and they long continued discontented and turbulent. After the reformation was established in England, theological difference inflamed the discontents. If men so uncultivated possessed any vestiges of christianity, being totally unfit for the genuine wisdom and goodness of that divine system, they must have received it with the grossest corruptions which it had acquired from interested imposture, oscitant negligence, or torpid stupidity. "Superstition (says one of the glories of that country, after Irish genius had begun to shew its strength and brilliancy*) is the only religion of ignorant minds." Devoted to the most abject popery, the Irish, during the reign of Elizabeth, were easily the dupes of all the artifices of the Romish combination: discontent, bursting out in partial insurrection, spread to general rebellion. The vigour and prudence of Mountjoy crushed revolt; but a more difficult task still remained, to civilize the inhabitants, to reconcile them to laws and industry, and to render their subjection durable and useful to the crown of England. King James proceeded in this work by a steady, regular, and well-concerted plan, and made greater advances towards the reformation of that kingdom, than had been atchieved during the four hundred and forty years which had elapsed since the conquest. The act of Poynings had given authority to English laws, and rendered future statutes of Ireland dependent on the English government, but had not abolished the Irish customs, which supplied the place of laws, and were calculated to keep the people in perpetual barbarism and disorder. Of these usages, the most noted respecting penal proceedings was the *brehon*, by which every crime, even murder itself, was punished, not with death,

* Burke.

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but by a fine or pecuniary mulct, which was levied upon the criminal, In the distribution of property, the customs of *gavelkind* and *tanistry*, were no less inimical to the purposes of civilized society: the land, by the custom of gavelkind, was divided among all the males of the sept or family, both bastard and legitimate: and, after partition made, if any of the sept died, his portion was not shared out among his sons; but the chieftain, at his discretion, made a new partition of all the lands belonging to that sept, and gave every one his share. As no man, by reason of this custom, enjoyed the fixed property of any land; to build, to plant, to inclose, to cultivate, to improve, would have been so much lost labour.[f] The tanists, or chieftains, though drawn from the principal families, were not hereditary, but were established by election, or, more properly speaking, by force and violence. Their authority was almost absolute; and, notwithstanding that certain lands were assigned to the office, its chief profits resulted from exactions, dues, and assessments, for which there was no fixed law, and which were levied at pleasure. These customs James abolished, and in their place substituted English law, established circuits, banished oppression, administered justice, ascertained the rules of property, and severely punished crimes and disorders. He did not confine his improvements to the introduction of laws for securing property and punishing crimes, but promoted means of acquiring riches, and preventing enormity. He first endeavoured to stimulate industry, and was peculiarly successful in the province of Ulster, which, having fallen to the crown by the attainder of rebels, was entirely at his disposal. The land was divided into moderate shares, the largest not exceeding 2,000 acres. Many natives of England and of Scotland received grants of estates, and

[f] Hume, vol. vi. p. 59.

brought

brought from their respective countries tenants, who were capable by skill and industry to cultivate and improve the grounds, and also to practise other useful pursuits. The Irish were removed from the hills and fastnesses, and settled in the open country; husbandry and the arts were taught them; a fixed habitation was secured; plunder and robbery were punished; and, by these means, Ulster, from being the most wild and disorderly province of all Ireland, soon became the best cultivated and most civilized.[s] By these wise and prudent measures, James laid the basis of justice, security, and humanity in Ireland; but various obstacles impeded the superstructure, which were principally referable to two sources, property and religion. Long established custom, however absurd, or even pernicious, is extremely difficult to be overcome, especially among barbarians, whose regard to mere usage is in the inverse proportion of their liberality and intelligence. The appropriation to individuals of lands, which, according to their ancient custom, belonged to a sept or family, was extremely disagreeable to the Irish. Besides their disapprobation of the new tenure, they were greatly dissatisfied with many of the proprietors, who, possessing the lands which had formerly belonged to communities, were regarded by the aboriginal inhabitants as aliens and interlopers, and a distinction arose between the *new settlers* and the *old Irish*, that long subsisted, and often manifested itself in very fatal effects. Most of the ancient inhabitants continued addicted to the Romish superstition. The liberal spirit of England towards diversities of theological belief, granted to the catholics of Ireland a degree of indulgence almost amounting to a toleration; but so long as the churches and the ecclesiastical revenues were kept from the priests, and they were obliged to endure the neighbourhood of profane heretics, being

[s] Hume, vol. vi. p. 60.

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themselves discontented, they continually endeavoured to prevent the establishment of cordial amity between the English and Irish nations. Instigated by these spiritual directors, as well as inspired with a love of national independence, they ardently desired the expulsion of the English, and waited with impatience for an opportunity of making the attempt. When the Scottish presbyterians began their hostilities against Charles I. and his liturgy, and the English puritans menaced the mitre and the crown, the Irish leaders thought the occasion auspicious to revolt. A conspiracy was formed, for overpowering the English, repossessing the lands of their forefathers, effecting a complete separation between England and Ireland, and re-establishing the catholic religion as paramount and supreme. Actuated by such powerful passions, in pursuing their objects they displayed not only impetuous ardour, but a vigour of ability, and a skilful and comprehensive concert of measures, that demonstrated them to be very far advanced, since the desultory insurrections of the former century. The native genius of the Irish, improved even by partial and reluctant intercourse with the English, evinced the beneficial tendency of the system of James; and their very counsels and efforts to effect a separation, proved the benefits that must accrue from the connexion. To the historical reader, who can perceive and combine the mixed uniformity and variations of national character in the progressive stages of knowledge and civility, the Irish conspiracy of the seventeenth century affords subjects of reflection, which are not only important in themselves, but illustrate transactions, pursuits, and conduct in very recent periods. The plot of 1641 was remarkable for unity of design, extensive organization of plan, and secrecy of preparation. from which there might have been expected to follow, firm, cool, and resolute

lute execution; but when it ripened to insurrection, it burst forth with an impetuous fury and atrocity, liker to the blood-thirsty cruelty of savage animals, than the regulated courage of rational creatures seeking momentous objects. More and Maguire, the projectors, were able men, but their associate O'Neal, and the greater portion of their followers, were barbarians, with the violent and uncontrolled passions of rude tribes; which, in any evil direction, were the more mischievous, from the natural sagacity, ingenuity, and force of the Irish character; and which were then stimulated by the interested, bigotted, and infuriated teachers of a gloomy and ferocious superstition. The massacre that ensued, so horrid in its enormities, spread over all the provinces of Ireland, and involved the whole island in guilt. The daring vigour of Cromwell crushed the insurrection of Ireland, and employed plunder and forfeiture, the usual means of military usurpers, to reward the instruments of their dominion, and to strengthen present tyranny; little regardless of the real interests and permanent prosperity of possessions which they hold on such a precarious tenure. In the confiscation were comprehended, not only the revolters against the English government, but the loyal partizans of the ill-fated monarch. A more sudden and violent change of property was THEN unknown in the annals of injustice; five millions of acres, which had been wrested from the former proprietors, were divided among the creditors of the anti-monarchical party, and the soldiers of the protector. An order was even issued, to confine all the native Irish to the province of Connaught, where they would be shut up by rivers, lakes, and mountains; and could not, it was hoped, be any longer dangerous to the English government.[h] A policy at once so absurd and inhuman, was a principal cause of subsequent discontents, disorders, and convulsions in Ireland,

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[h] Hume, vol. vii. p. 268.

and

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and very long counteracted the wise and beneficent purposes which the system of James had sought to obtain: the insatiate rapacity of the usurper rendered ineffectual the provident cares and counsels of the lawful king. To redress the grievances of the Irish sufferers, was a great object of the wise counsellors by whom Charles the second was directed in the earlier part of his reign; but it was found an arduous task, either to undo, or compensate, such flagrant and extensive iniquities. The revolutionary soldiers and monied speculators could not be dispossessed, because they were the most powerful and only armed part of Ireland; and, besides, it appeared expedient to favour them, in order to support the protestant and English interest in that kingdom, and because they had generally, with a seeming zeal and alacrity, joined in the king's restoration. Charles therefore promised by a proclamation to maintain their settlement, and at the same time to make amends to the innocent sufferers; and proposed to perform this engagement from several funds, but chiefly a quantity of land which was still unappropriated. When the various sources of recompence were accurately examined, they were found totally inadequate to the purpose of indemnification; so that either the present possessors must be disturbed, or the grievances of the ancient proprietors continue without redress: anxiety and alarm seized both the claimants and the holders; the former eager to recover the inheritance of their fathers, the latter afraid to lose, but resolute to retain, their own acquisitions. The duke of Ormond, appointed lord lieutenant, was deemed the most proper person, from prudence and equity, to compromise differences, and reconcile jarring pretensions; and, after encountering various obstacles and difficulties, he at length succeeded in prevailing on the parties to accede to a modification. The Cromwellian possessors agreed to relinquish one-third of their lands, which was to be

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be distributed among the dispossessed Irish, who had either been entirely innocent of insurrection, or had adhered to the royal family. In the former case, they were compelled to undertake one of the most arduous tasks that can be required in the establishment of truth—the proof of a negative: they were to be presumed guilty, unless they evinced the contrary: they were, besides, debarred from pleading innocence, if they had ever lived in the quarters of rebels. From the wide latitude of constructive guilt, and the difficulty of exculpatory demonstration, many persons free from the crime remained involved in the punishment; and as two-thirds of the lands still were held by persons whom the former proprietors regarded as usurpers, they deemed themselves the victims of injustice. These sentiments were not confined to actual sufferers, but diffused among their friends and connexions, and incorporating with the spirit of national independence and popery, overspread the ancient Irish. There were now in Ireland two great parties, in the nature of things reciprocally hostile: the present holders, attached to the English government, whose power only could secure their possessions; and the expelled descendants of the ancient owners, who were inimical to that government which they conceived to preclude the vindication of their rights. In both, interest and religion went hand in hand. The new proprietors, chiefly of English extraction, were generally protestants, and the ejected Irish, catholics. The mild and equitable administration of Ormond, however, prevented the discordant spirit from immediately bursting out in renewed insurrection. His great object was, impartially and equitably to promote the good of all classes, whether protestants or catholics, and to engender in both, a disposition to conciliation. In the latter years of Charles, the expectations that were entertained from a popish successor, distinguished for ardent zeal, cooperated with the wisdom of Ormond, in preventing the

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the catholics from attempting to disturb the English government of Ireland. The furious bigotry of James overleaped every bound of true policy; and, without any preparation or precaution, eagerly endeavoured to re-establish the catholic religion in intolerant supremacy, annulled protestant charters and corporations, filled the offices of state with Romanists, and gave the supreme direction of affairs to Tyrconnel, as violent a bigot as himself. The protestants in great numbers left the kingdom, and the interests of England in the sister-island were almost totally destroyed, when the frantic folly of James gave way to the ability of William. The Irish catholics strenuously embraced the interest of the exiled king, and hoped that his restoration would both re-establish the Romish religion, and enable them to regain all the lands now occupied by protestants. Repossession and religion being the chief purposes of their adherence to the popish prince, they combated with their usual impetuosity, and butchered with their usual fury; but, after a bloody contest and repeated defeats, the insurgents were finally overcome by the disciplined valour of English soldiers. Having the rebels at his feet, William perceived the policy which wisdom dictates towards reduced rebels, who may be reclaimed and rendered useful subjects; and at the celebrated treaty of Limerick, granted to the Irish catholics what they considered as the great charter of their civil and religious liberties, and allowed an amnesty for the past, on their swearing allegiance for the future; allowing those who were dissatisfied with the present government, to retire into other countries. Various forfeitures having fallen to the crown before this capitulation, the king gratified the friends of the English government with a part of the confiscations, but remitted a considerable portion; and adopted conciliation, as the means which would render the two kingdoms reciprocally beneficial. Great pains were employed to spread industry

industry and the arts; the intercourse of Ireland with England and Scotland, no longer interrupted by rebellions, being rapidly increased, taught and encouraged manufactures, and promoted husbandry. The Irish, ingenious and intelligent, readily comprehended the lessons they received; and in some parts of the island, employed perseverance and industry, and felt the strength and resources which their country contained, if they were steadily and judiciously employed. During the reign of Anne they grew in prosperity, and appeared to be well satisfied with the English government.

In the reign of George I. a law was passed, making a very material change in the relation between Great Britain and Ireland, and rendering the sister-kingdom much more dependent upon Britain, than even the statute of Poynings had proposed; and whereas that lawgiver had procured a negative and preventive control over Irish legislation, the bill of George I. gave a positive and enacting power, and also established the subjection of Irish courts of justice to the corresponding tribunals of England. This change passed without much animadversion at the time, though it was destined to be afterwards a very important subject of discussion and correction. The Irish in that reign appear to have been chiefly engaged by the interests of their new commerce, from which may be derived their violent opposition to Wood's halfpence. The growing trade of Ireland was regarded by many of the English with an unfounded jealousy, as they apprehended from its increase a competition of commercial interests; and the legislature of Britain clogged the industry of Ireland with various restrictions, which were extremely injudicious, immediately injurious to Irish, and ultimately to British, prosperity.

In the reign of George II. the incumbrances were partially removed; wool and woollen-yarn were allowed to be imported both to Scotland and England;

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land; afterwards cattle and tallow, salted beef and pork, obtained the same permission. At one period there arose a contest between the government and the Irish house of commons respecting privilege and prerogative, in the application of the surplus of revenue, which the commons conceived they had a right to appropriate without the consent of the crown. Popular orators operating on the fiery spirit of the Irish, the dispute became extremely violent; and though afterwards quieted by the skilful application of government to the leaders of most influence with the people, yet the seeds of dissatisfaction still remained, and the persons most keenly in opposition to government acquired proportionate popularity. The duke of Newcastle, agreeably to the general rule of his policy, sought to govern Ireland by a junto, composed of men of family or official influence. Another body of men assumed the name of patriots; they professed to make the commercial benefit and political rights of their country the great objects of their pursuits, and to reprobate every measure or practice that appeared to lessen the political or commercial benefits of Ireland; they inveighed against the powers asserted by the British government, the restrictions upon trade, and the expences of the pension-list, and co-operated with any party or individual that happened to be in opposition to administration. Conceived to be sincere in their professions of patriotism, they were revered by the populace, who received their representations as the oracles of truth, and at the death of George II. a spirit of disaffection and discord was manifest in many parts of Ireland.

GEORGE III. proposed to govern Ireland as well as Britain without any regard to party-distinctions; but, in the first year of his reign, the animosities were inflamed to a very high pitch, by a dispute about a money bill. In October 1761, his majesty sent

sent as lord lieutenant the earl of Halifax, who was esteemed well qualified by united vigour and prudence for supporting the rights of the crown, and conciliating the affections and promoting the interests of the people. In his speeches to the legislature, and in his executorial conduct, he endeavoured to soften and banish animosities, to promote unanimity, to recommend and enforce the improvement of agriculture and manufactures, and to encourage the education of youth, and the diffusion of useful knowledge. But the very progress of husbandry produced discontents and commotions among many of the ignorant people, who had neither discernment to understand improvements, nor patience to await results. Parties of men assembled to destroy inclosures, under the pretext of restoring commons to the poor, and committed various outrages: the insurgents wearing over their clothes a white frock, thence received the name of *white-boys*, that afterwards became so noted and terrible. These banditti secured their union, and increased their numbers, by oaths of secrecy, an organized plan, and by inflicting the severest cruelties on all who refused cooperation. During the year 1763, they carried their atrocities to so alarming a height, as to call the attention of parliament; but no effectual measures were adopted for their suppression. Convened for the purpose of rescinding the muniments of property, they attacked rights and establishments of various kinds, and were peculiarly resolute in the refusal of tithes. The professed patriots, by exclaiming against the pension-list and other alleged abuses, and calling loudly for reform at a season when the public ferment and the violence of the populace were so unfavourable to such discussions, tended to inflame the disorders; and the spirit of dissatisfaction, which was so industriously spread through Britain, acted also powerfully in Ireland.

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In the houses of parliament, a regular and systematic opposition was now formed to the measures of government. It consisted of two classes: individuals of great personal popularity; and a combination of family connexion and political union. This band, headed by lord Shannon and the house of Ponsonby, was nearly a-kin, in principles and views of government, to the Rockingham party in England; with whom its several members maintained a close intercourse, consolidated in various instances by relation and affiance. These may without impropriety be termed the whig confederacy of Ireland; and, in the successive political changes, joined and co-operated with the corresponding body in Britain. In parliament, a considerable subject of debate was the origination of money-bills. Hitherto measures of finance were proposed by the privy-council of England and sent to the Irish house of commons, which had merely a power of refusal. In 1764, Mr. Pery, one of those members who claimed the merit of patriotism, proposed, that propositions of aids should spring from the commons. The mover was strenuously supported by Mr. Ponsonby and his adherents; and though his proposition was not passed into a law, yet its principle and spirit deserve the attention of the historical reader, as manifesting a disposition to assimilate the Irish constitution to the British, and consequently lessen the dependence of Ireland.

In 1766, a more important and comprehensive scheme was tried for effecting a similarity to the polity of Britain. The parliament of Ireland at this time was subject to dissolution only by the demise of the crown, or the exercise of the kingly prerogative. Several attempts had been made, during the preceding four years, to render their duration septennial; but were rejected by the Irish legislature; a new bill being now introduced, passed the Irish parliament, but was rejected in Britain. Soon after, lord

lord Chatham, who had received the direction of English affairs, and his friend lord Camden, declared themselves favourable to the limited duration of the Irish parliament. Charles Townshend agreed to this opinion, and his brother viscount Townshend was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland. Instead of a septennial, an octennial law was recommended. The new viceroy repaired to his government in October 1767, and a bill for limiting the duration of parliament to the period of eight years, was proposed, speedily and unanimously passed, and received by the people with a joy and gratitude that demonstrated the eagerness of their desire to obtain the benefits which were possessed and secured under the British constitution.

CHAP. VII.

Prevalent discontents. — Mr. Wilkes returns from exile — offers himself candidate for London — rejected — chosen for Middlesex — prosecuted at the instance of ministers — tried before lord Mansfield — sentenced to the king's bench prison — popular invectives against the judge. — Riots in St. George's fields. — Wilkes's outlawry reversed. — King of Denmark visits Britain. — Favourite studies of his Britannic majesty. — Voyages of discovery and science. — Capt. Cook. — Mr. Banks. — Affairs on the continent. — Parties in Poland. — Dissidents. — Interference of Prussia and Russia. — Conduct of Austria — of France. — Rupture between Russia and Turkey. — American colonies enraged at Mr. Townshend's new impost. — Province of Massachusets more active in resistance. — New combination against British commodities. — Lord Hillsborough the secretary of state, his letter to the governors of their respective provinces. — Riots at Boston — England. — Dissatisfaction and licentiousness. — Wilkes inflames the discontent. — Supported by the chief citizens of the metropolis. — Lord Chatham resigns the privy seal. — Parties mutually adverse, concur in opposition to administration.

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WISE and liberal as was the policy of our king, which sought to govern by virtue and ability instead of a party confederacy, it had not hitherto attained the merited success. The royal plan had to encounter obstacles which partly arose from particular incidents and characters, but were chiefly owing to general causes.

THE long supremacy of the whig combination had conferred on its members, in the public opinion, a prescriptive right to govern. When Pitt adopted the project of Bolingbroke, or more probably followed the natural course of transcendent talents, he was aware of the authority which the junto had acquired:

quired: he well knew that political changes ought to be gradual, and accommodated to the opinions and sentiments of the times. He therefore did not propose entirely to exclude the phalanx; but, without admitting their command, to enjoy their assistance. Even this partial invasion they bore with impatience, and only from the overpowering force of genius did they bear it at all: Pitt's administration afforded strong proofs, that a change of political system must be gradual, and that the projected alteration would be arduous, unless pre-eminent ability guided and invigorated the execution. The earl of Bute attempted a more extensive and rapid change, than befits the progressive variations of human affairs: in seeking a reform agreeable to reason and justice, he failed, by precipitation and the want of superior talents. His personal unpopularity was prejudicial to any scheme which he could undertake, and his successors (long conceived to be his tools) partook of the prevalent hatred, which was farther increased by their internal and colonial measures. The administration of Rockingham courted popularity, but in its weakness and inefficiency demonstrated, that the whig phalanx was fallen in strength: still, however, it was not dissolved. Pitt tried the experiment of governing without the whig connexion: but found, that either the attempt was premature, or that the execution required more vigorous exertion than the infirm state of his health permitted him to employ. Feeble as a ministry, the combination of whigs was a powerful body of opposition; and others, not of their *sept*, united with them in thwarting the measures of government. The earl of Chatham ceased to be an active member of his majesty's councils; and instead of the union of talents that the sovereign sought and the statesman proposed, there was in the cabinet a weakness and distraction, which excited the censure of the patriotic, and encouraged the hopes of the ambi-

tious,

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tious. The notion of a secret cabal continued to prevail, and had its share in giving spirit and strength to antiministerial efforts. From these causes, and not from any disloyal acrimony, seems to have arisen the opposition to government, which forms so very prominent a feature in the early history of our sovereign. Besides, the immense augmentation of trade and opulence in the preceding reign, had raised the monied capitalists to a much greater degree of importance, than at any former period they had attained. Always connected with the whigs, the mercantile body entered into their present views, and imputed to evil and unconstitutional motives, the interference of the monarch with their political monopoly. They were farther dissatisfied with the measures adopted towards America, which had eventually proved so detrimental to trade. The citizens of London exchanged their former zeal in favour of the house of Brunswic, for violent enmity to the successive servants whom their king chose to employ, and were foremost in supporting every turbulent individual who attacked administration. Such was the spirit now raised into a strong fermentation by the general election.

To prevalent discontents, an individual case proved a very formidable addition. Mr. John Wilkes had applied to the Rockingham party when in administration, for patronage and redress; but the terms which he proposed, a general pardon, 5000*l.* in cash, and a pension on the Irish establishment, were totally inadmissible; and his confident presumption was not only disappointed in its extravagant expectations, but prevented the amnesty which modest humility might have procured. When the duke of Grafton became prime minister, the hopes of Mr. Wilkes again revived. He had been extremely intimate with that nobleman, and expected friendship from their former social and convivial intercourse, as well as patronage from the

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whig principles which the minister professed. He wrote a letter to the duke, congratulating his grace and the country on his promotion, and entreating his mediation with the king. This petition, however, was entirely neglected by the duke; and Mr. Wilkes's hope of pardon vanishing, he resolved to attack his adversaries with the keenest severity. On the dissolution of parliament, coming from Paris, he proposed himself as a candidate to represent the city of London. The conduct of the court was in this case altogether irresolute and feeble; while prudence dictated determined measures, either of rigour or of lenity. If they determined on severe justice, by immediately enforcing his sentence of outlawry, this could have driven him back to banishment, and for ever crushed his projects either of ambition or revenge: if the more magnanimous and wiser alternative of mercy had been adopted by a full pardon, his influence and popularity would have ceased with the prosecution from which they sprung. But ministers embraced half measures, the usual offspring of imbecility, and parent of disappointment. Known to be odious to the court, Wilkes was received by the people with rapturous applause. Mr. Harley the lord mayor, being in the interest of the court, prevented Wilkes from being chosen for the city; whereupon he immediately offered himself for Middlesex. Adored by the freeholders of a county which, from its adjacency to the metropolis, speedily catches its spirit; supported by the most opulent men in the city and the ablest at the bar, after a riotous and tumultuous election, the popular candidate was returned by a very great majority. Meanwhile, a legal process was carried on against him upon the former charges: he was tried, sentenced to imprisonment for two years, obliged to procure security for his good behaviour for seven years, and sentenced to pay a fine of a thousand pounds. A trifling alteration in the judicial records was magnified

Return of Wilkes.

He is chosen for Middlesex.

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fied by popular clamour into the most flagrant and oppressive injustice. It had been a common and unchallenged practice with the judges, when requested by the prosecutor, to amend informations, in order to add to their clearness and precision. At the instance of the treasury solicitor, lord Mansfield had suffered the word *purport*, in the information against Mr. Wilkes, to be erased, and the word *tenor* to be substituted. This change, perfectly consistent with law and usage, and which could not have the smallest weight in criminating the defendant, was represented as an iniquitous measure, flowing from the arbitrary principles and designs which were imputed to the chief justice as a Scotchman, and a friend of lord Bute. Extremely enraged at the judgment passed upon their favourite, the populace forcibly rescued him from the officers who were conducting him to prison, and carried him triumphantly through the streets; but Mr. Wilkes, that he might not appear a party in this violence, as soon as the mob was dispersed, prudently surrendered himself to the marshal of the king's bench.

THE new parliament met on the 10th of May, and was opened by the lord chancellor; who, in a speech, informed the house, that his majesty had not called them together at that unusual season of the year for the purpose of general business, but merely to dispatch certain parliamentary proceedings necessary for the welfare of his subjects, especially the renewal of the acts against the exportation of corn, which were then on the eve of expiring.

Riot in St. George's fields.

ON the day on which the parliament met, great numbers of persons assembled in St. George's fields, expecting to see Mr. Wilkes go from prison to the house of commons. The mob becoming very outrageous, the Surry magistrates, when unable to preserve the public peace, were obliged to read the riot act, and call in the military to assist the civil power.

Instead

Instead of separating, the populace insulted and attacked the soldiers: the legal time for dispersion being elapsed, force was found absolutely necessary; the soldiers were ordered to fire; and, as in a mob it is impossible to distinguish active outrage from idle curiosity, a man who had not been riotous was unfortunately killed: this was Allen, who, though humble and obscure in life, was from his death consecrated to perpetual remembrance by the pen of elegant invective, poignant acrimony, and impressive misrepresentation[a]: several others also were unavoidably killed. On the 17th of May, a proclamation was issued, by order of the council, for suppressing tumults and unlawful assemblies. Both houses of parliament thanked his majesty for this measure, and united in expressing their approbation of the magistrates who had been active in quelling the disturbances: and lord Weymouth wrote a letter, by his majesty's command, to the justices for Surry, which testified the utmost satisfaction with the conduct both of the magistrates and the troops in suppressing lawless disturbances. Samuel Gillam esq. one of the justices, was tried on a charge of having murdered William Redburn, by having ordered the soldiers to fire; in consequence of which, Redburn had been killed. The jury, seeing the absurdity and the injustice of such a prosecution, would not suffer the accused to take the trouble of entering upon his defence; but, when the prosecutor's evidence was closed, pronounced a verdict of acquittal. Donald Maclean, a soldier, was tried for the murder of Allen; but being proved to have acted only in discharge of his duty, he was acquitted. The mob was very much displeased with this sentence; and, as Maclean was either known, or from his name presumed to be, a Scotch highlander (and consequently the countryman of lord Bute), the clamour was the more loud and outrageous. Mr. Wilkes applied to

[a] See Junius, passim.

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the court of king's bench for a reversal of his outlawry, as irregular and illegal; and, after many learned arguments on both sides, the judges unanimously delivered their opinion, that the sentence was illegal, and must be reversed.

King of Denmark visits England.

On the 13th of May, the king lost his second sister, the princess Louisa Anne, in the twentieth year of her age. In the course of the summer, the king of Denmark, under the title of the prince Travendahl, visited England; and, arriving in London, was honoured with every possible mark of respect and distinction, and entertained at court with all the princely magnificence which befitted the guest and the host. Having viewed every thing most worthy of notice in the metropolis, his Danish majesty made a tour to York; and visiting Cambridge, was received by that learned body with all the discriminating attention of lettered politeness. He returned by Oxford, where his reception was no less pleasing to the monarch. Arriving again in London, he honoured the lord mayor with his company to dinner, and expressed high satisfaction and admiration at the hospitality of the most opulent body of the most opulent nation in the universe. Having remained two months in the kingdom of his brother-in-law, he departed for his own. Little indebted to nature for either brilliant or vigorous talents, yet by a comely countenance and figure, in the bloom of youth, and by pleasing and affable manners, added to his rank, and connection with the British royal family, the Danish king became extremely popular during his stay in England.

Favourite studies of his Britannic majesty.

Our sovereign had from his youth devoted a great portion of his attention to philosophical experiments, scientific inquiries, and the consequent arts, both curious and useful; he had applied himself particularly to geography, astronomy, and other subjects connected with navigation; a study peculiarly momentous to the realms over which he was destined

destined to reign. Soon after the conclusion of the peace, the king projected a voyage of discovery to the south sea; and in July 1764, the Dolphin ship of war and the Tamar frigate were equipped for this purpose, under captain Byron, with captain Mowat second in command. Arriving off Patagonia, they were astonished at the stature of the inhabitants, which rose to a gigantic height. They afterwards descried Falkland's islands, and finding a harbour extremely commodious, entered it, took possession both of the port and surrounding islands in the name of the king, and called the haven Port Egmont, in compliment to the nobleman who was then at the head of the admiralty. Entering the Pacific ocean, they sailed to Batavia, whence they returned by the Cape of Good Hope, and anchored in the Downs in May 1766; having circumnavigated the world in a year and ten months. His majesty lost no time in farther prosecuting the discovery of unexplored parts of the physical and moral world; and the Dolphin was immediately refitted, and sent out in August 1766, under the command of captain Samuel Wallis, accompanied by two frigates, the Prince Frederic and the Swallow. Wallis having entered the Pacific, took a different direction from captain Byron, (who had first sailed north and then west,) and proceeded diagonally almost in the hypothenuse of his predecessor's track. This course brought the British voyagers to an island, which presented man under a different aspect from any in which he had been hitherto seen by Europeans. This was the place now so well known under the name of Otaheite. The manners of the inhabitants exhibited a combination of savage ignorance and voluptuous effeminacy, never before seen together in the same national character. The incivilization of the North American Indians, with the mildness of Gentoos, and the licentious lewdness of Moorish masters of harams, constituted the character of the islanders whom captain Wallis

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now

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now discovered. Partly by intimidation, but still more by attention, he obtained a very favourable reception. In a year and nine months, having made very important accessions to our knowledge of the habitable globe, he finished his circumnavigation. The existence of these islands being ascertained, his majesty's next desire was to explore their resources, and prosecute discovery. It had been long before calculated, that the planet Venus would pass over the sun's disk in 1769; and one of the south sea islands within the tropic of capricorn was reckoned the most commodious station for observing the phenomenon: so that one object of the voyage was astronomical improvement, though it comprehended several others. The command of this expedition was conferred on lieutenant James Cook, who was not only distinguished as a skilful navigator and gallant officer, but as a mathematician and astronomer. Other men of science and philosophical research were prevailed on to accompany Cook: among these were, Joseph Banks, esq. a gentleman of talents and fortune, who had from his early youth employed his abilities and wealth in improving his understanding, enlarging the boundaries of human knowledge, and increasing the resources of human wants: conversant in the various branches of literature and science, he had bestowed peculiar attention on natural history, natural philosophy, botany, mineralogy, and chymistry; and was therefore a most important co-adjutor for advancing purposes of physical discovery. Dr. Solander, a Swede of great ingenuity and learning, and deeply skilled in mathematics and natural philosophy, likewise joined this expedition; and Mr. Charles Green, the colleague of Dr. Bradley the royal astronomer, conducted the astronomical part of the undertaking. Thus an expedition was projected, which tended not only to promote observation and discovery, but deduction and science; and this was the first voyage ever undertaken upon such

Captain Cook.

Mr. Banks.

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such grand and philosophical principles. The honour of first planning an expedition for the advancement of science, was reserved for the reign of George III.

Affairs of the continent.

On the continent, several disputes disturbed the general tranquillity. The changes which the different princes were making in ecclesiastical affairs; were reprobated by the pope. The king of Spain having banished the jesuits, circumscribed the power of the clergy, and especially of that detestable instrument of bigoted tyranny, the inquisition; he reformed the church and universities, and suffered the press to be no longer subject to ecclesiastics, but rendered it amenable to civil authority only; he prohibited appeals to the pope, but in extraordinary cases; or any order from the court of Rome to be put in execution, unless sanctioned by the king and council: thus, instead of the pope, the sovereign became head of the national church. The king of Naples was engaged in a similar reduction of clerical power: the dominions of the duke of Parma were subject to ecclesiastical privileges and immunities still more exorbitant than those which were allowed in other countries by the deluded votaries of superstition, that prince therefore resolved, instead of longer submitting to the authority of slavish bigotry, to follow the dictates of sound policy and reason. He accordingly prohibited any appeal to be carried to the pope, reduced the power and immunities of the church, and ordained that all benefices should be held without any dependence on a foreign priest. The pope tried his decrees, briefs, and bulls, but they had lost their efficacy. The other popish states seconded the efforts of the Bourbon princes. The king of France reclaimed the territories of Avignon and Venaisin, in the heart of France, which had been ceded to the pope in the days of superstition. The pope employed his own papal machinery to prevent the

Diminution of papal influence.

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the resumption, but to no purpose: the French king took possession of the territories.

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FRANCE about the same time made, by a negociation with Genoa, another acquisition. The Genoese having long tried to no purpose to reduce Corsica, concluded a treaty, by which they transferred the sovereignty of that country to the king of France; and a body of troops was embarked at Toulon for the island, which it was expected would acknowledge, without resistance, the claims of so powerful a monarch: but those expectations proved eventually groundless.

Parties in Poland.

WHILE these transactions were going on in the south and west of Europe, the north and east was far from being tranquil. Stanislaus began his reign with meritorious and judicious efforts to meliorate the internal administration and condition of Poland, and to rescue her from dependence upon foreign powers; but he had to encounter very formidable obstacles both from within and without. There were in that country two great divisions of religionists: the catholics, whose worship was established by law; and the dissidents, including Greeks, protestants, and every class of dissenters, who were not only tolerated, but had a vote in the national diet, and shared in other political privileges, by a constitution established in 1660. The catholics, however, having gradually become more powerful than before, gave way to their intolerant spirit, and oppressed and persecuted the dissidents, whose legal privileges could not protect them from lawless power. The clergy were extremely dissatisfied with one privilege enjoyed by the dissidents; which was, an exemption from the payment of tithes. Clerical avarice and ambition stimulated the stupid enthusiasm of the populace against the non-conformists, and by their ascendency in the diet, encroached on their immunities. The dissidents applied to the two chief protestant sovereigns, and the chief Greek monarch,

Dissidents.

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monarch, to interfere in their behalf. The court of London, too distant from the scene, could only mediate by its ambassador. Prussia and Russia were disposed and able to intercede much more effectually. Both Catharine and Frederic had formed most ambitious views respecting Poland; and in the application of the dissidents, a plausible pretext offered itself for their interference. Whatever might be their real sentiments concerning christianity, they were both too able politicians, not to support the religious faith whose establishment they found beneficial to their dominions. Catharine, head of the Greek church, avowed herself its supporter and defender; and Frederic avowed himself the champion of the protestant doctrine. Both these sovereigns announced their intention of protecting their brethren in religious belief; and the czarina actually sent a body of troops to promote the success of her mediations. The Russian forces seized the bishop of Cracow, primate of Poland, with the bishop of Kiar, and a few others of the most active enemies of the dissidents, and sent them to Petersburg; where, without any trial, they, by the arbitrary pleasure of Catharine, were subjected to rigorous imprisonment, in a country against which they could not be rebels, because they owed it no allegiance. The kindred theology of Maria Teresa was roused in behalf of the Polish catholics. France, then governed by the duke of Choiseul, though very little under the influence of superstition, was prompted by policy to attempt the repression of Russian and Prussian influence in Poland. The empress-queen prepared a force to assist the catholics; but Frederic notified to her, that if any of her soldiers marched into that country, he would immediately invade Bohemia; and Maria Teresa, not being equal to such a contest, made no attempt to fulfil her intentions. The influence of the protestant courts, and still more the menaces of the Russian

Interference of Russia and Prussia.

Conduct of Austria, and of France.

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Russian army, obtained, in the beginning of 1768, an edict, confirming all the privileges of the dissidents.

THE French, though they did not themselves engage in hostilities with Catharine, exerted all their intriguing policy to blow the flames of discord. Their plan of annoying Russia divided itself into three branches: they encouraged the Poles to form a new confederacy; they caballed at Stockholm to change the government, in order to render the king, who was under their influence, absolute; and their emissaries at Constantinople endeavoured to rouse the jealousy of the Grand Signor against Catharine. A fresh confederacy of catholics having been formed in summer 1768, annulled the late laws, and adopted resolutions for opposing Russia, and dethroning[b] Stanislaus. The Russian troops quartered in Poland defeated the army of the confederates, pursued them to the eastern frontier, and burned the Turkish town of Balta, in which the insurgents had taken shelter. Already predisposed by France to enmity with Russia, the Turks considered this act as a hostile aggression; they sent Catharine's ambassador prisoner to the fortress of the Seven Towers, and in the beginning of October declared war against Russia.

Rupture between Russia and Turkey.

IN the American colonies, the act proposed by Mr. Townshend for fixing duties on certain articles of merchandize, excited very great resentment; while the obvious proofs of weak and wavering policy in the British government, encouraged them to resistance. It was easy to perceive, that the principle of the new law was the same as of Mr. Grenville's stamp-act, *to tax the colonies without their own consent, expressed by themselves or their representatives.* This identity of object their political writers soon painted in the most striking colours; Mr. Townshend's impost (they said) was in every

Discontents in America,

[b] See Gillies's Frederic, p. 399.

respect

respect as unconstitutional as the stamp-act; the mother-country seemed determined to crush the colonies; resistance was therefore a duty which the Americans owed to themselves and to posterity. These arguments coincided with the sentiments and prepossessions of the people, in exciting opposition; and the province of Massachusets Bay was the most active in promoting resistance. The first public mark of dissatisfaction on account of this act, was shewn at Boston on the 27th of October 1767, when the inhabitants, assembling in their town-hall, agreed to form associations for encouraging manufactures among themselves, discountenancing luxuries of every kind, and discontinuing[c] such articles of importation from Britain as were not absolutely necessary. The other colonies adopted the same, or framed similar resolutions. In January 1768, the provincial assembly of Massachusets, having met, immediately entered on a general and full consideration of grievances[d]; and prepared a petition to the king, complaining of every statute passed since the year 1763, for imposing duties on America. They instructed their agent in England, to controvert the justice and prudence of these acts, on the grounds of natural equity, constitutional right, and commercial and political expediency. They also sent letters to the several ministers, to the marquis of Rockingham, the earl of Chatham, and lord Camden, which entreated the exertion of their abilities and influence in promoting the objects of the petition to his majesty. Toward the other colonies they employed the same sagacious policy, which they had successfully exerted in opposing the stamp-act; they excited a spirit of confederation, and they sent a circular letter, which communicated the proceedings of the assembly, invited the other provinces to follow their example, and requested similar communications of measures necessary or

especially Massachusets.

[c] Stedman, p. 159. [d] See Stedman, vol. i. p. 59.

useful

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useful for the common cause. The colonists of Massachusets, indeed, exerted great depth of political ability; for aware that considerable differences of principles and sentiments prevailed between most of the other provinces and themselves, they endeavoured to amalgamate opinion and feeling, by giving them unity of object. This was the system of means, which the New Englanders uniformly pursued. Unfortunately, at this period, the steadiness of policy, adapted to its object, formed a striking contrast with the fluctuating measures of the British government. Sir Francis Bernard, the governor of Massachusets, was a man, neither by conciliation fitted to dissolve their concerts, nor by vigour to counteract their schemes. He was on very bad terms with the assembly, who charged him with having misrepresented their conduct to the British government, while he reproached them with rebellious stubbornness. This reciprocation of invective, resembling the angry brawlings of private litigants, rather than discussions befitting his majesty's representative and a constitutional assembly of his subjects, widened the breach. Bernard sent to ministers a copy of the circular exhortation, which increased their displeasure against the New Englanders. Lord Hillsborough wrote a letter to the several governors of the colonies, to be laid before the respective assemblies: he condemned the conduct of Massachusets, as tending to promote an unwarrantable combination against the authority of parliament, and admonished the other colonies to disregard such disloyal suggestions. He instructed Bernard to require the assembly to rescind the resolution which had issued such an inflammatory paper; and, in case they should refuse, he was directed to dissolve the meeting. Not satisfied with opposing innovations, the Bostonians riotously resisted an authority acknowledged by themselves. The sloop Liberty, belonging to John Hancock, had arrived in Boston harbour,

Lord Hillsborough's letter.

harbour, laden with wine; the master of the vessel having in vain attempted to bribe a custom-house officer to let him smuggle his cargo ashore, at last locked him up by force in the cabin, sent the cargo ashore, and reladed the ship before the morning. Information of this illegal and outrageous act having been given at the custom-house, the collector, seizing the sloop, committed her to the care of the Romney ship of war. On perceiving this movement, a mob assembled, buffeted and pelted the collector and controller of the customs, attacked the houses and threatened the persons of the commissioners, and compelled them to take refuge in Castle William, a fortress commanding the mouth of the harbour. The governor applied to the assembly for their advice and assistance, but received neither: A town-meeting, so far from discountenancing the outrage, presented a remonstrance on the seizure of the sloop. Thus both the provincial assembly and the town of Boston shewed, that, though the acts of parliament of which they complained might be unconstitutional grievances, they had resolved to resist legitimate and constitutional authorities. The governor persisted in urging them to rescind the obnoxious resolution of the preceding session; but, as they would not comply, he, agreeably to his directions, dissolved the assembly. The British ministry, informed of the late outrages, ordered troops to Boston to aid the civil powers. The Bostonians, informed of the destination of the soldiers, intreated the governor to convene the general assembly; but Bernard answered, that he had dissolved the assembly by command of his majesty, and could not call another without the king's orders. The Bostonians, disappointed in their expectation, formed the daring resolution of assembling a provincial convention, which body met on the 22d of September, drew up a petition to the king against the late acts of parliament; but disclaimed all pre-

Outrages at Boston.

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tence to authority, stated the causes of their meeting, exhorted the people to pay deference to government, and promised to aid the civil power in maintaining tranquillity. Rendered more mild in their conduct by the approach of the soldiers, they dissolved their meeting the very day on which the first division of the troops arrived at Boston; and the tumultuous spirit of the people being thus restrained, quietness was re-established. The assembly of New York having submitted to the terms of the mutiny act, were restored to their legislative functions. The other colonial assemblies, guided by the circular letter of Massachusets, and regardless of the British minister's admonitions, resolved to prohibit the importation of the enumerated articles, and directed the prohibition to begin from the first of January 1769.

Dissatisfaction in England.

In England, the dissatisfaction and licentiousness of the people continued to increase. Mr. Wilkes nourished the discontent, by publishing lord Weymouth's letter to the Surry magistrates, and prefixing to it a seditious preface. A great part of the people charged all the disturbances in America to the folly and wickedness of ministry; but there was a faction out of parliament, that proceeded to a degree of licentiousness which was inimical to the existence of regular government, and its most active partisans received too much encouragement from many opulent citizens in the metropolis. The opposition in parliament still consisted chiefly of two parties, the adherents of Mr. Grenville, and the connexions of the marquis of Rockingham[e], who, though adverse to each other, agreed in voting against ministry. The earl of Chatham, the founder of the present ministry, borne down with infirmities,

[e] Two Pamphlets published this year, "The present State of the Nation," by Mr. Grenville; and "Observations on that present State," by Mr. Burke; in their principles and views, manifest the very different and opposite opinions of the Grenville and Rockingham parties.

and

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and totally disapproving of the measures of his colleagues, had long withdrawn from public business, and lately resigned his office of lord privy seal. The duke of Grafton, though first lord of the treasury, had been intended to act only a secondary and subordinate part, as in the same office the duke of Newcastle had done, during the splendid period of Mr. Secretary Pitt's administration. As the health of lord Chatham rendered him unequal to the exertions of his earlier years, the duke of Grafton actually became prime minister. The talents of this nobleman did not exceed mediocrity, nor was he mature in political experience. So qualified, he was thrust by accident, rather than exalted by design, into a situation, to fill which, in the distracted state of affairs, required a minister of consummate abilities and wisdom. Lord North, while only chancellor of the exchequer, rarely exceeded his official business, or took an active share in the general concerns of administration. Lords Camden and Shelburne, both coinciding in the views and opinions of lord Chatham, had little connexion with their colleagues in office. The other secretaries of state were not distinguished for political talents; so that, on the whole, the present ministry was far from possessing that combined ability and concert, that would have qualified them to manage with effect the manifold and complicated objects which demanded the attention of the British government. Such was the state of foreign, colonial, and domestic affairs, when the season arrived for the meeting of parliament.

Lord Chatham resigns the privy seal.

CHAP. VIII.

Meeting of parliament — petition of Mr. Wilkes — charges against him, at the instance of ministers — expelled the house — re-chosen — declared ineligible during the present parliament — chosen a third time — election again declared void — a competitor set up — Mr. Wilkes returned by a great majority — Mr. Lutterel declared by parliament duly elected. — Violent debates, and national ferment. — Revival against the Americans of trials within the realm for treasons committed beyond seas. — Debt on the civil list. — Affairs of the East India company — Hyder Ally — war in the Carnatic. — Europe — gallant resistance of Corsica against the French — at last overpowered. — America — discontent increases from the new mode of trial. — Extreme dissatisfaction in England — the chief topic the Middlesex election. — Johnson's False Alarm. — Junius — object and character of that extraordinary work. — Petitions — remonstrance of the city of London. — Meeting of parliament — lords Chatham and Camden oppose Ministry — resignation of the duke of Grafton.

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1768. Meeting of parliament.

THE session commenced on the 8th of November; his majesty recommended from the throne [a] the consideration of our commercial interests, and regretted the interruption on the continent of the general tranquillity; but stated the assurances which he had received, that Britain would not be affected by the foreign disturbances. He mentioned the commotions in America, particularly submitted the affairs of that part of his dominions to the wisdom of parliament, and inculcated the necessity of internal harmony and union. To the proposed addresses, great opposition was made; ministers were charged with having excited the disorders in America, and with gross inattention to external affairs. The

[a] See State Papers, 1768.

Bourbon

Bourbon compact became every day closer, and extending its influence to Austria, brought the balance of power into imminent danger. The violation of the general tranquillity in the invasion of Corsica, France would never have attempted, but from her knowing the feebleness and distractions of the British cabinet. Our commercial interests, it was added, were entirely neglected. These were the outlines of the censures against ministers, brought forward on the first day of the session, as a text for future comment and expatiation.

THE first particular subject which occupied their deliberations was corn: the crop that year had been good, and measures were projected to prevent the recurrence of scarcity. A bill was prepared not only for increasing the prohibition on the exportation of corn, but also for preventing the extraction of low wines and spirits from wheat and flour. This act was useful so far as it extended, but too trifling in its object and operation to afford any material security against the return of dearth. An evil so frequently prevailing in such a fertile country as England, manifested the expediency of restoring agriculture to its due weight in political economy, and devoting the attention of the legislature to the cultivation of land, as well as the improvement of manufactures and commerce. Other concerns, however, more urgent though less important, occupied parliament.

DURING this session, Wilkes engrossed a great portion of parliamentary attention. This celebrated agitator had uniformly proposed [b] by political bustle to acquire notoriety and wealth. He succeeded in becoming conspicuous, but had not hitherto attained opulence: to ministers (as we have seen) he had in vain applied for pecuniary assistance; but though they refused him the required supply, they left and

[b] This he himself declared to Mr. Gibbon, before the publication of the North Briton. Gibbon's Miscellaneous Works, v.i. i. p. 100, note.

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promoted one means of acquisition, in his extensive popularity. In the generous hearts of Englishmen, distress is a never-failing passport to pity and protection. If the suffering arise from real or apparent oppression, the spirit of freedom enhances the desire of benignant vindication; and especially, if the alleged persecution issue from the executive government. But as the affections of the multitude are more ardent than their judgment is discriminating, their regards are more frequently bestowed upon noisy demagogues, than wise and beneficent patriots. Whoever proposes popularity as his chief object, well knows that he must keep alive the public attention. Wilkes and his supporters were thoroughly skilled in the machinery of political notoriety, and spent a great part of the recess in holding meetings, clubs, and parties; framing resolutions, remonstrances, and pamphlets. Lest the curiosity of the people should be diminished, or the zeal of his supporters cooled, Wilkes deemed it expedient to present a petition to the house of commons. This paper recapitulated all his alleged grievances, from his first apprehension in April 1763, to his commitment in 1768: the only new matter that it contained was an assertion, that lord Mansfield had illegally and tyrannically altered the records; and that Philip Carteret Webb, esq. secretary to the treasury, had bribed the petitioner's servants with the public money, to steal the Essay on Woman, to be made a ground of prosecution. The former statements of the petition, being a narrative of proceedings already determined by the law of the country, the house passed over; on the two last allegations a discussion commenced on the 21st of January 1769, which lasted till the 3d of February. On the charge against lord Mansfield it was resolved that the orders made by the lord chief justice of the king's bench, for the amendment of the informations established in the said court against

Petition of Mr. Wilkes.

Proceedings respecting Wilkes:

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Mr. Wilkes, were according to law and equity, and the practice of the court: and also, that the complaint was frivolous, groundless, and prejudicial to the administration of public justice: on the second head it was resolved, that the charge against Mr. Webb was not proved. The preface to lord Weymouth's letter, of which Mr. Wilkes acknowledged himself author and publisher, next came under consideration: it was voted to be a false, scandalous, and seditious libel, tending to the subversion of all order and legal government; and a proposition was immediately made, that Mr. Wilkes should be expelled the house. In supporting this motion, ministers and their adherents spoke and acted as parties eagerly interested in carrying a proposition, not as judges investigating the conduct of one of their peers, that they might deliver a fair and impartial sentence. The charge was accumulative and indefinite; it contained a recitation of his former offences and expulsion, and also of conduct which was then undergoing the animadversion of the courts of law, fully competent to condemnation or acquittal.[c] Their speeches[d] chiefly expatiated on these subjects, and contained the irrelevant exaggerations of passion, much more than the statements and proofs of justice. The opposers of this sentence contended, that the libel on lord Weymouth, a peer of the realm, was the only specific ground of the motion; that his privileges as a lord, were not cognizable by the commons; and that any offence against him as a British subject, belonged to the laws of the land. For the other libels, he had been already expelled, and the house had punished him for an attack upon the legislature. Should he be twice chastised for the same offence? "By the present proposition (they said) we are to blend the executive and judicial powers of the state with

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[c] See Journal of the House of Commons, Feb. 3d, 1769.
[d] See Parliamentary Debates on the expulsion of Wilkes; February 3d, 1769.

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the legislative, and to extend our jurisdiction, that we may take upon ourselves the odium of trying and punishing in a summary manner an offence which does not affect us, but is subject to the investigation of the laws. In the exercise of this assumed power, we are to form an accumulative and complicated charge, which no other courts, nor even we, have ever admitted in other instances. We are to mingle new crimes with old, and to try a man twice for the same misdemeanour. We are to transfer the censures of a former parliament into the hands of the present, which is to make them the foundation of a new punishment. We are to assume a power of determining the rights of the people, and of their representatives, by no other rule but our own discretion or caprice.[e]" Strong as these arguments may appear to an impartial reader, they were overborne by a ministerial majority, and Mr. Wilkes was expelled the house of commons. The conduct of ministry manifested that alteration of laxity and violence, which never can proceed from united wisdom and vigour. If severe punishment were expedient, why was it not employed when he returned from exile, before the reversal of his outlawry?[f] Permitted then to be out of confinement, he had revived his popularity, and paved the way for its progress to a height which nothing tended more effectually to increase than further prosecution.

he is expelled the house:

WELL-KNOWING the temper of his constituents, and of the nation in general, Wilkes considered his expulsion as the sure road to greater popularity and distinction, and immediately offered himself candidate for the vacated county. The favour of his supporters rose to an enthusiasm that overspread London, the county, and their environs; and the sympathetic spirit quickly diffused itself throughout

[e] See Parliamentary Debates, February 3d, 1769.
[f] See Junius's Letter XI. to the duke of Grafton.

England:

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England: under the influence of such sentiments, his re-election was unanimous; and the next day he was declared by the house incapable of being re-elected during the present parliament. On the 16th of March, Mr. Wilkes was chosen a third time; and the following day his election was again declared void. The Middlesex freeholders avowing their determination to choose him again, ministers set up another candidate, colonel Lutterel. The fourth election took place on the 13th of April: for Mr. Wilkes, there were eleven hundred and forty-three lawful voters; for his opponent, two hundred and ninety-six: Mr. Wilkes was accordingly returned. The next day his name was erased from the writ by order of the house; and the day after, Henry Lawes Lutterel esq. was, after a very violent debate, declared, by a majority of 221 to 139, duly elected.[s] The passionate resentment of rulers against an individual, so clearly manifesting their want of magnanimity and true wisdom, produced a totally different effect from that which they expected or desired: their aversion procured to its object the warmest popularity. Ten days after the last vote of the house of commons, he was chosen alderman of the city of London. Subscriptions were opened, to raise money both for the liquidation of his debts and his future subsistence. He was represented as a meritorious patriot, suffering oppression and tyranny for his virtues.

1769. Feb. 16th, is re-elected, but declared ineligible.

Lutterel returned.

National ferment.

DURING this session, America occupied a great share of parliamentary attention; both ministry and opposition were desirous of an inquiry, but the motives of the parties were different. Ministers proposed to justify their own conduct and that of their officers, and to convince the public that all the disturbances which had happened, were owing to the

Revival against the colonies, of trials within the realm, for treason beyond sea.

[s] This was the question on which a youth, destined to be one of the greatest orators and ablest men ever admired in any senate, first spoke in parliament: Charles James Fox had procured a seat before the legal age; and a law-giver at twenty, astonished his hearers by the force of his abilities.

refractory

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refractory and rebellious spirit of the colonists; while, on the other hand, their opponents endeavoured to demonstrate, that the commotions were caused by the weakness and arbitrary proceedings of the British government. Having these different motives to inquiry, ministers and opposition desired different modes; the former proposed to confine their investigations to the late acts of the Americans; the latter, to consider, not only the conduct of the colonists, but the measures of Britain for several years; to trace disorders to their sources; as only by the knowledge of these, could the evil be effectually removed. This broad plan of discussion by no means suited the designs of ministry; and it was carried by a great majority, that the investigation should be conducted on narrowed grounds. The house resolved itself into a committee, and motions were made for various papers, which would have illustrated the conduct of government and its servants; but they were uniformly over-ruled. Papers in great variety were indeed laid before the house; but they related to the conduct of the colonists merely, without including the measures of government. With such incomplete materials, the majority of the legislature reposed so great a confidence in ministers, as to be perfectly satisfied; and on them, undertook to deliberate.

On the 8th of February, an address to his majesty passed the house of lords, and was adopted by the commons, declaring the late proceedings of the house of representatives of Massachusets Bay to be a denial of the authority of the supreme legislature to make laws for the colonies. It therefore asserted the acts to be illegal, unconstitutional, and derogatory to the rights of the crown and parliament of Great Britain; and reprobated the circular letters of the same assembly, as tending to inflame the other colonies, and to create unlawful combinations. It declared the town of Boston to be in a state of disorder.

disorder and disobedience to law; justified the measure of sending a military force, as necessary in such an exigency; stated the opinion of the houses to be, that nothing could so effectually preserve British authority in the tumultuous provinces, as the condign punishment of the rioters; and recommended to his majesty to revive the execution of Henry VIII.'s statute, for trying within the realm of England treasons committed beyond seas. The proposed revival of this law was very strongly controverted: it was the constitutional privilege of every British subject, declared by the great charter, confirmed by various subsequent laws, and by uniformly established usage, to be tried by his peers, and in the county in which the transgression was alleged to have been committed, that, if innocent, he might easily bring forward such testimony as would insure his acquittal. The projected plan would be most iniquitous in its operation: by carrying the accused to an immense distance from his friends and business, it rendered it impossible, except for a man of great wealth, to endure the expence of bringing over exculpatory evidence, or taking other effectual steps to clear himself from the charge. The prosecution, in effect, would be condemnation; even if the defendant were acquitted, the purposes of justice would be entirely defeated. Ministers alleged, that from the atrocity to which licentiousness had risen in Massachusets, the revival of this statute was absolutely necessary; that the legislature and the public ought to have so much confidence in government, as to be convinced that they would not harass innocent persons; that the expence, and other inconveniences, to the guilty, were only parts of their punishment, and there was no reason to question the impartiality of British juries. It was indeed improbable, that there could be any necessity for executing the act, as the display of mingled vigour and lenity would bring

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bring back the colonists to a sense of their duty. An historian wholly uninfluenced by the party notions of the times, cannot but lament the infatuation of ministers, who, when the Americans were so greatly discontented by the infringement of one constitutional right of British subjects in taxation without their consent, attacked another constitutional right equally valuable, the trial by peers. The general character of the policy of this administration towards America, was feeble anger, which provoked without intimidating its objects.

Affairs of the East India company.

PARLIAMENT now turned its attention to the affairs of the East India company. The agreement made with that body, as well as the act for restraining the dividends, being now on the eve of expiration, the company made overtures for a new contract; and after a long negociation, a bargain was settled on the following terms: the company was to continue to pay to the public for five years, the annual sum of four hundred thousand pounds; they were at liberty to increase their dividend to twelve and a half per cent.; but the addition was not to exceed one per cent. in any one year. Should the company in that period be obliged to reduce their dividends, a proportionate sum was to be deducted from their payment to government; and should they fall to six per cent. the payment was to be discontinued. The company was bound to export British goods, at an average, of equal value to those annually sent to India during the last five years; and should any surplus of the company's cash remain in England after the payment of specified debts, it was to be lent to government at two per cent. These stipulations were deemed advantageous to govenment, and reckoned a favourable specimen of the official talents of lord North, who had been extremely instrumental in fixing the conditions. A message was sent this session by the king to the house of commons, informing them, that a debt of 513,000*l.* had been incurred

Debt on the civil list.

incurred by the civil list, and asking their assistance for its discharge: the opponents of ministers proposed an inquiry into the expenditure, which was negatived, and the required sum granted; and on the 9th of May the session was concluded. CHAP. VIII. 1769.

WHILE events so interesting to England were going on in Europe and America, a war broke out against the company in India, excited and headed by an adventurer, who, with his son, proved more formidable enemies, than any native princes that Britain ever encountered in the East. Affairs in India.

HYDER ALLY, from being a common soldier, raised himself to be master of the Mysore country, in the mountains between the eastern and western coasts of the hither peninsula, and on the Malabar side acquired extensive dominions adjoining the ocean. Endowed with vigorous natural talents, he possessed great military experience, which was chiefly attained by a long service among the Europeans. He applied himself to form and discipline his own army on the model of their system, and was assisted by a number of French adventurers in training his soldiers, and teaching them the use of artillery. This bold and ambitious warrior formed a project of rendering himself master of Indostan; but, aware that in the English he would meet the most formidable opponents, he proposed to drive them from India. With this view, applying to the Nizam, viceroy of the Decan, he, partly by threats and partly by promises, induced him to join in war against the English. Informed of the new confederacy, the council of Madras immediately dispatched colonel Smith with a body of troops against the allied army. The British commander, coming up with the enemy, drew them to battle on the 26th of September 1767, near Trincomallee. Hyder Ally demonstrated himself both a valiant soldier and an able general; but the Indians, notwithstanding their numbers, being soon broken by the impetuosity and force of the British Hyder Ally. War in the Carnatic.

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British troops, were completely defeated. Freed from the apprehension of Hyder Ally's power, the Nizam made peace with the company, and purchased their forgiveness, by ceding to them the collection of a very extensive revenue in the Balagat Carnatic. The chieftain of Mysore, finding himself unable to cope with the British on the plains, retired to the Ghauts, where, through his cavalry, he disturbed his enemies by predatory incursions. In January 1768, a strong armament, fitted out at Bombay, attacked and took Mangalore, Hyder Ally's chief harbour. By an unaccountable oversight, they left very few troops to garrison the forts; and these were soon afterwards made prisoners by Hyder. The war against this adventurer, when carried beyond the purposes of defence, was not attended with ultimate advantage; upon the system adopted by the company, field-deputies were appointed to superintend and control the commander in chief, and these interfering in his plans of operations, prevented them from being effectual. General Smith had penetrated into the Mysore country, and might have advanced to Seringapatam, but he was counteracted by the deputies, whose gains depended on the continuance of war, and not on the atchievement of conquest. Trusting to the celerity of his own troops, Hyder, in the absence of the English general, hastened to the Carnatic, plundered the company's ally the nabob of Arcot, and compelled Smith to return to the defence of the Coromandel coast. Taught by experience, he avoided a general engagement with the English, but straitened their quarters, cut off their supplies, and exhausted them in unavailing pursuits and marches. Meanwhile, having strengthened his cause by alliances with Mahratta chieftains, and increased his army, he had the boldness to advance with a large body of horse almost to the gates of Madras. Colonel Wood, with a detachment, attacked a fort called Mulwaggle on Hyder's

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Hyder's frontiers, but was repulsed. Encouraged by this advantage, Hyder determined to hazard a battle: a contest took place on the 4th of October, more obstinate than any that had been fought between the English and Indians, and each party was repeatedly obliged to retreat; but at last, after having caused great loss to the victors, the Mysorean abandoned the field. Hyder did not again venture a battle, but continued the harassing species of war which had so much annoyed the English. He again marched towards Madras; but, knowing that if he attacked it an engagement would be unavoidable, he did not make the attempt. Tired of a war which required very great expenditure without any prospect of adequate recompence, the English made overtures for peace, which their antagonist very willingly accepted; and a treaty was concluded on the 3d of April 1768, on the general principle of restitution of conquests. Hyder was the ablest Indian foe with whom Britain had ever been engaged; and this was the first war between the company and a native power in which they acquired no advantage, and incurred all the loss of their expences.

Europe.

In Europe, the eyes of the different nations were, during this and part of the preceding year, turned chiefly to the very unequal contest that was carrying on between France and the small island of Corsica. As soon as the treaty between his christian majesty and Genoa was published, and the invasion of the island appeared certain, a general meeting of the nation was held at Corta; and, after a very animated and elegant speech by Pascal Paoli, it was determined to defend their liberties to the last extremity. On the 24th of June 1768, the French troops landed, and found the islanders determined to resist. The brave Corsicans disputed every inch of ground against a numerous and well-disciplined army, and frequently defeated them in severe skirmishes. The French commander in chief issued a pro-

Gallant resistance of Corsica.

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a proclamation, full of promises if the Corsicans submitted, and of threats if they continued to oppose the king. Paoli having laid these proposals before the assembly, they tore the papers, trampled them with the greatest marks of rage and indignation, and unanimously concurred in calling out for war. The French being now reinforced by fresh troops from home, made considerable progress on the banks of the river Golo; but Paoli, who had been watching a body of the enemy in another quarter, hastily advanced to this district, and on the 11th of September attacked and defeated them with great slaughter. In the course of the summer, the Corsicans continued to gain signal advantages; and the result was so important, that during the remainder of the campaign, the French, though recruited from the continent, were obliged to act on the defensive. The Corsicans had been inspirited to these gallant efforts by the hope of foreign assistance, without which, they well knew, their exertions against such a power as France must be ultimately hopeless. To England principally they had looked for aid, expecting that country to be the best inclined to vindicate liberty and oppose the ambition of France, and the most able to send them assistance in their insular situation. But the court of Versailles well knew, that they had not to dread a William Pitt in the English cabinet; that the British ministry were weak, distracted, unequal to internal and colonial politics, and without either the disposition or the ability to take an active and effectual part in foreign affairs. During the winter, the French leaders pressed these considerations on the Corsican chiefs; not a few of whom began to consider their resistance as desperate. These sentiments, however, did not immediately appear in their conduct. In January and February 1769, they made several attempts on the French quarters; but were frequently repulsed. As the spring advanced, the French, taking the field, made

made considerable progress, though the brave islanders maintained their cause with the warmest zeal and unimpaired resolution. In the beginning of April, the count de Vaux landed with so many troops as made the French army amount to 30,000 men, and several engagements took place: in the first, the Corsicans were superior: in the second, neither party gained any decisive advantage: in the third, however, the islanders were totally defeated with dreadful slaughter; and, to heighten the disaster, one of their chiefs betrayed his distressed country, and with eight hundred men joined the enemy. In May, the greater part of the island was over-run, and their chief towns were compelled to yield to the French. Their patriotic and gallant leader Paoli, however, with about five hundred men, still continued to resist. These heroes were at last surrounded by four thousand of the enemy, when he energetically asked them, if they would ingloriously surrender, or die free men with sword in hand. They unanimously embraced the latter alternative, attacked the French, and with great slaughter on both sides the survivors of the Corsicans made their way through the enemy. Paoli having for two days, with some of his friends and attendants, eluded the search of the enemy, got on board an English ship at Porto Vecchia, and was landed at Leghorn, where he was received both by the inhabitants and others, more as a triumphant conqueror, than as an exile from a conquered country. From Leghorn he sailed to England, where he also met with the most flattering reception, and from that time resided. Corsica having become a part of the French dominions, its government was modelled according to the will of the French king, rendered totally dependent upon him, and an appendage to the most contiguous French district of Provence.

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America. Discontents from the new mode of trial.

In America, the proposed change in trials for treason not only enraged the before disaffected, but even alarmed the loyal and faithful partizans of the king and

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and mother-country. To transport an accused person, before the establishment of guilt, over an immense ocean of three thousand miles; to tear from his family, friends, and country, a man, in the eye of the law innocent; to carry him away for many months from his lawful business, by which he maintained his children, and upheld his rank in society, was in effect equal to banishment, and an infliction of the most cruel penalties, before it was proved that any punishment was just. Such a measure, every person of common sagacity must see, was totally inconsistent with the principles of natural jurisprudence, and with both the letter and spirit of British criminal law. Even those who had uniformly supported the legislative supremacy of Britain, began to question an authority designed to be exercised in such oppression. In Massachusets for a short time the projected scheme produced some effect in repressing the disorders: this, however, arose merely from awe of the soldiers; but, as they were not employed in executing any vigorous measures for restraining disorders, the fears of the colonists soon vanished. The assembly, maintaining the proposition to be unjust, unconstitutional, and tyrannical, formed resolutions to resist its operation: they voted charges against their governor for misconduct; which, with a petition for his removal, they transmitted to England. The other colonial assemblies reprobated the revived statute with no less force of reason than the New Englanders; and some of them with still greater severity of expression, accompanied by more violent resolutions. Bitter altercations took place between the assemblies and the governors, some of whom imitated Mr. Bernard in dissolving these meetings. Such acts, far from benefiting the parent-country, diffused dissatisfaction more widely, by spreading through the people the sentiments which had prevailed in the assemblies. The enmity of the Americans to the scheme of the present

year, contributed very powerfully to the promotion and extension of the associations against British commodities. Committees were appointed in all the principal towns, to inspect cargoes from Britain, and to report to the constituents if any persons had purchased prohibited articles. Whoever were found to transgress the resolutions of the associators, were publicly censured in their meetings, which moreover inserted their names in the newspapers, to render them odious to the people. By these combinations, resolutely determined to persevere in their purpose, British commerce suffered a very great diminution. It was found, on an investigation, that the exports from this country to America in 1769, fell short by seven hundred and forty-four thousand pounds of those of the year 1768. It appeared also, that the revenue from America, which had been in 1767 one hundred and ten thousand pounds, in 1768 had lessened to seventy thousand, and in 1769 was so low as thirty thousand. The association had confined the prohibition of the specified articles to those of British growth or manufacture; the natural consequence of which was, that they began to be smuggled from foreign countries, especially from France; and thus the two acts of this administration, the law of 1767 for raising a revenue from America, and the proposal in 1769 of reviving an oppressive statute of a tyrannical prince, long obsolete for its absurdity and injustice, prevented the use of British manufactures, destroyed an important branch of commerce, impaired revenue, encouraged the produce and trade of continental Europe, and enriched our commercial and political rivals: so narrow were the views of the ministers of that time, and so extensive were the consequences of their weakness, rashness, and impolicy!

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During the summer, discontents arose in England to a greater height than in any preceding period of the reign. Although the conduct of administration

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nistration respecting America had its share in exciting dissatisfaction, yet the chief cause was the proceedings against Mr. Wilkes, especially with regard to the Middlesex election. The nomination of Mr. Lutterel involved in it a totally different question from the expulsion of Mr. Wilkes. The expulsion, whether well or ill founded, was a question of individual conduct, of which the justice or injustice terminated in Mr. Wilkes himself, without affecting any other person; but the nomination of a man supported by a minority involved a constitutional right, and the decision might eventually affect many others. A subject which so greatly agitated and interested the public mind, naturally became a theme of literary discussion, and the ablest men were engaged on both sides. The question at issue was, Whether expulsion constituted disqualification during the current parliament? The supporters of the affirmative contended, that the power of disqualifying persons from being members of its body was inherent in the house of commons, and that its exertion could be demonstrated from precedents. The force of Dr. Johnson was employed on this side of the question, in the essay which was entitled, "False Alarm:" and his chief argument was, that the power of disqualifying expelled members, was necessary to the house of commons; as expulsion with re-eligibility would be a nominal, not a real punishment. He also quoted the case of sir Robert Walpole, and dwelt on the individual character of Mr. Wilkes. Political expediency, however, could not prove existing law; and individual character was irrelative to a question of privilege between constituents and the representative body. The writer who entered most fully and minutely into this question, upon the real grounds of law and precedent, was the celebrated Junius. He defied his adversaries to produce any statute applicable to the subject. The precedent on which ministers rested, was the case of Walpole; but, as

Johnson's False Alarm.

Letters of Junius.

Junius

Junius shews, the judgment of the house was quite different.[h] Mr. Wilkes was expelled, so was Mr. Walpole; Mr. Wilkes was re-elected by a majority of votes, so was Mr. Walpole. The friends of Mr. Taylor, the opposing candidate, petitioned parliament, that he, though supported by a minority, should be returned; the house determined that Mr. Taylor was not duly elected. Mr. Lutterel, supported by a minority, was declared by the house to be duly returned. Mr. Wilkes was declared incapable of being elected, because he had been expelled; Mr. Walpole was declared incapable of sitting in parliament, not because he had been expelled, but because he was deemed guilty of a breach of trust and notorious corruption in his official character of secretary at war.

The Middlesex election was one occasion which called forth the epistolary eloquence of this renowned writer; but the objects of its exertion and the range of its expatiation were far more extensive. During the supremacy of the whigs, the influence of public opinion had very rapidly increased throughout the English nation. The same spirit of inquiry that had scrutinized the actions of the Stuart princes, operated with redoubled force after the revolution had ascertained the extent and bounds of privilege and prerogative; and the consequent laws had sanctioned the use of freedom's most powerful engine, the press, tried and proved in the contentions of the whigs and tories in the reigns of William and Anne; of ministerial and anti-ministerial parties, while Walpole sat at the helm of affairs: the efficacy of this energetic instrument was more fully essayed since the accession of the present sovereign to the throne; and most successfully employed in counteracting the liberal and comprehensive policy which, without respect of parties, sought official fitness in the ministers of the crown. Misapprehending, or

[h] See Letter xvi. dated July 19th, 1769.

 perverting

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perverting ingenuity, charged the failure of erroneous or premature means to the impolicy of the general end; and endeavoured to demonstrate, that every censurable measure of individual ministers arose from the new system, and that the only remedy for the evils under which the country and its dependencies labour, was the renewal of the whig[i] monopoly. These were the propositions which the parliamentary orators of the aristocratical confederacy wished to inculcate themselves, and also to disseminate through literary co-adjutors. To this phalanx of opposition and discontent, several senators and many writers, who were not partizans, adhered; in the course of the contests, the high and growing authority of the press was daily more manifest, and in the estimation of the multitude rivalled parliament itself, and the whig[k] combination entertained sanguine hopes, that through intrinsic force, aided by literary eloquence that fanned the popular flame, they should at length succeed in restoring the former system, and recovering the direction of the royal councils. To regain for the whigs and their supporters the sole possession of the political fortress, fought their champion Junius. Personal motives evidently inflamed this writer against individual officers of the crown, whom party considerations induced him to assail, as members of a body which was to be driven from the councils of the king, to make way for the restoration of the whigs. He began his warfare in January 1769, by a general view of the state of the country; described Britain, as internally distracted, and as little regarded by foreign powers; and assuming the truth of his account, imputed the alleged evils to the new system and the existing ministers. He thence descended to specific measures, and the respective

[i] See the scope of opposition writings, but especially Burke on the Discontents, and Junius's Letters.

[k] See Letters to the duke of Grafton, &c. and to the dukes of Grafton and Bedford, and lord Mansfield.

characters

characters of the chief members of the administration; with a two-fold purpose, of deriving the counsels from the new plan of royal policy, and its alleged framer and conductor lord Bute; and demonstrating that the chief officers of the crown were, from private profligacy, public corruption, or political prepossessions, the fittest for carrying it into execution. The Middlesex election, at an early period of his work, afforded him an opportunity of inveighing against ministers, and attacking parliament as meanly condescending to be the tool of government in violating the rights of electors, and depriving Englishmen of their constitutional and most valuable franchise. Keeping directly to his purpose, he deduced the Middlesex election from the new system, and the ministers who had been chosen to render it effectual. To the same cause he ascribed the various acts, legislative, executive, and judicial, which he reprobated in the course of his writings. With skilful unity of design, the details and result of his eloquence, were adapted to his purposes of impressing the public with an opinion, that the whole policy of the present reign had been unconstitutional in principles, at once feeble and oppressive in operation, and pernicious in effect. Advanced not in the impassioned hour of contentious and temporary debate, but in an uniform series of deliberate inculcation, such assertions evidently conveyed an indirect censure of the sovereign; but circuitous attack was not sufficient for the purpose of Junius. A direct address to the king himself, he thought, would more effectually accomplish the end for which he employed his pen. Composed with exquisite skill and great ability; dexterously adapted to the popular prejudices, and the views of the whigs, his letters had converged all the rays of discontent into one focus; now was the time for exciting a flame, which should consume every object that was hostile to the

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[1] He accuses lords Mansfield and Bute with Jacobitism. See Letters, passim.

confederacy

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confederacy of the whigs. He wrote a letter, that contained a direct and virulent attack on the conduct and government of the king; in which the errors imputed to the monarch's administration were his dereliction of the policy [m] of his two predecessors; his choice of servants without regard to the whig connexion, his employment of Scotchmen, and the series of successive measures which these changes had produced. The consequences (said Junius to his sovereign) must be dissatisfaction, rebellion, and revolution; unless the king should cease to govern according to his own judgment and choice, and should yield his understanding and will to the implicit direction of a party. Such was the object and nature of the Letters of Junius, which continued to be published for near four years; and to insure almost unprecedented circulation through the union of the prevalent violence of popular licentiousness, with vigorous and masterly composition. For clearness, precision, and force of style, select phraseology, dexterous arrangement, impressiveness of manner, giving the materials the most pointed effect, these productions have rarely been exceeded, and not often equalled, by political publications; but he who shall look into Junius for a close chain of antecedents and consequents, facts, and legitimate inferences, will be disappointed, by seeking for what the author never intended to bestow, and what would not have answered his purpose. Junius COULD reason clearly and strongly; but he did not constantly argue conclusively, because his object was not to enlighten the understanding, but to inflame the passions. He gratified the people by repeating to them, in strong and nervous language, their own notions and feelings: he pleased them not by the justness of performance, but by dexterously chiming their favourite tunes. His charges against the dukes of Grafton and Bedford represent those noblemen as the most

Object and character of this extraordinary man.

[m] Junius's Letter to the King, December 19th, 1769.

profligate

profligate and abandoned men that ever had disgraced the British senate or cabinet; but what impartial estimator of political characters would form his judgment from accusations that were substantiated by no proof, and totally inconsistent with probability? The illustrious Mansfield he described as a most corrupt and unjust judge, as a mean time-serving and unprincipled courtier, and as a Jacobite, inimical to the king and government which he professed to support. What weight would an impartial investigator of merit allow to such calumnious allegations, not only unsupported by any proof, but disproved by the whole tenor and course of the life and conduct of their object. Aware, that in the misapprehension of party rage, the slander of dignity and merit was one road to popularity, Junius insulted a much more exalted character, and completed his calumny by charges which were equally false and seditious. History, after taking a retrospective view of Grecian and Roman demagogues, will scarcely be able to present such an instance of invective, ingenious and inflammatory; scurrility, nervous and elegant; plausible sophistry, impressive declamation, poignant and sarcastic malice, as in the English orator of the IRON MASK. These anonymous effusions were not prized only by such critics as composed Mr. Wilkes's election mobs, but by readers of real abilities and learning, who, hostile to government, and approving the spirit which they breathed, did not rigorously scrutinize the arguments; men of taste, charmed with the beauties of the composition, overlooked the reasoning and tendency: and never was a political work more universally perused than the Letters of Junius.

CHAP. VIII. 1769.

MINISTERS, aware of the prevailing discontents, endeavoured to procure addresses which might counteract the popular spirit, but were in England by no means successful. Essex, Kent, Surry, and Salop, were the only counties; the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, the cities of Bristol and Coventry,

CHAP. VIII.

1769.

Coventry, and the town of Liverpool, the only corporations of note that expressed the sentiments desired by government. From Scotland, however, the addresses were more numerous and agreeable to ministry.[n] Petitions, on the contrary, were presented from many counties, cities, and corporations, and these were of two very different classes: one set, though explicit, was temperate; and, though forcible, decorous: of this species, the best written and most distinguished were from Buckinghamshire and Yorkshire, supposed to have been respectively framed by Mr. Burke and sir George Saville. These confined themselves to the rights of election, which they asserted to be violated; and, either indirectly or expressly, prayed for a dissolution of parliament. The other class, though nominally petitions, were false and indecent remonstrances; of these, the most noted and prominent were from Middlesex and the city of London.[o] They professed to review the whole series of acts during his present majesty's reign. According to their account, the king had been uniformly directed by profligate counsellors, who had infused into the royal mind sentiments and counsels of the most dangerous tendency to the liberties and happiness of his subjects; from those pernicious counsels, according to their assertion and enumeration, had proceeded the corruption of all the orders, and violation of the most sacred rights of Englishmen; and the reign of the king was a tissue of unjust, tyrannical, and cruel acts, flowing from the legislative, executive, and judicative estates: after this statement, they proceeded to pray, that he would banish from his royal favour, trust, and confidence, his evil and pernicious counsellors. Though the tenor and language of the Middlesex and London petitions were essentially the same, the latter was rendered more notorious, by the perseverance of un-

Petitions.

Remonstrance of the city of London.

[n] See State Papers, 1769.

[o] See in the State Papers, the petition of the Middlesex electors, May 24th 1769, and the London petition of June 30th, 1769.

founded

founded expostulation with which its promoters obtruded their abusive charges upon their sovereign. False as many of the allegations were, yet, coming from the most opulent body in the kingdom, they had very great influence in spreading the discontents, and the dissatisfaction had risen to an extraordinary height before the meeting of the legislature. CHAP. VIII. 1769.

PARLIAMENT was assembled on the 9th of January 1770; and, contrary to popular expectation, his majesty's speech did not mention the public discontents. One subject of which the king spoke, though really of very great importance, was much ridiculed by the speakers and writers [p] of opposition. An infectious distemper having broken out among the cattle, threatened one of the chief articles of provision. The king, by the advice of his privy council, had taken every step which he thought likely to stop the contagion, and consulted his parliament on farther measures to be adopted concerning a matter of the highest national importance. He expressed his regret, that his endeavours to tranquillize America had not been attended with the desired success; and that combinations had been formed to destroy the commercial connexion between our colonial provinces and this country. He had, however, received the strongest assurances, that the present disturbances in Europe would not interrupt the quiet of Great Britain. The debate upon the address contained a very wide range of animadversion, and great acrimony of censure, into which the opposition in both houses introduced the Middlesex election, the prevailing discontents in England, and the commotions in America, and urged the dissolution of parliament and a total change of counsels. Ministers, admitting that discontents existed, imputed them to the spirit of faction, and the speeches, writings, and petitions, which had been thence produced; they, however, were by no means unanimous. Lords Camden and Shelburne withdrew

1770. Meeting of parliament.

[p] See Junius's Letter to the duke of Grafton, February 14th, 1770.

CHAP. VIII.

1770. Resignation of the duke of Grafton.

withdrew from counsels so different from those which they and their admired friend lord Chatham would have supported or approved. Soon after, to the great astonishment of the nation, the duke of Grafton, on the 28th of January, resigned his office of first lord of the treasury. Lord Camden and Mr. Dunning, his chief supporters in their respective houses, had shewn themselves inimical to the measures which had been recently pursued; besides, the duke of Grafton professed himself the political pupil of the illustrious Chatham; and though, during the illness and inaction of that statesman, he had swerved from his principles, opinions, and maxims, he still avowed the highest veneration for his character and sentiments. Perfectly recovered, lord Chatham was now returned to parliament, and with his wonted vigour attacked the system and measures of administration. The opposition of all his ablest friends, Grafton could not endure. In addition to these causes, we may find another probable reason for the dereliction of his post. Junius, indefatigable in raking together calumnious anecdotes, and dexterous in bestowing on them the appearance of truth, had made the private as well as the public conduct of this nobleman the chief butt of his satire, and for his actions assigned the most contemptible and unworthy motives. He must be either grossly stupid or stoically magnanimous, either less or greater than ordinary men, who, though conscious of innocence, can bear with indifference powerful calumny that produces general belief. The duke of Grafton, regarding his character, was so much moved by the Letters of Junius, that they certainly co-operated with other causes in impelling him to resign.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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